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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

RAMMOHUN REY was the son of RAM KHANT ROY. His grandfather resided at Moorshedabad, and filled some important offices under the Moguls; but, being ill-treated by them towards the end of his life, he then took up his abode in the district of Bordouan, where he had landed property. There RAMMOHUN REY was born, most probably about 1774. Under his father's roof he received the elements of native education, and also acquired the Persian language. He was afterwards sent to Patna to learn Arabic; and lastly to Benares to obtain a knowledge of the Sanscrit, the sacred language of the Hindoos. His masters at Patna set him to study Arabic translations of some of the writings of Aristotle and Euclid; and it is probable that the training thus given his mind in acuteness and close reasoning, and the knowledge which he acquired of the Mohammedan religion from Musselmans, whom he esteemed, contributed to cause that searching examination of the faith in which he was educated, which led him eventually to the important efforts he made to restore it to its early simplicity.

RAMMOHUN ROY.

His family was Brahminical, of high respectability; and, of course, he was a Brahmin by birth. After his death the thread of his caste was seen round him, passing over his left shoulder and under his right. His father trained him in the doctrine of his sect; but he very early observed the diversities of opinion existing even among the idolaters; and that while some exalted Brama, the Creator, others gave the ascendancy to Vishnu, the Preserver; and others again to Siva, the Destroyer. It is scarcely possible, too, but that his mind must have been struck by the simplicity of the Mahomedan faith and worship; and at any rate it early revolted from the frivolous or disgusting rites and ceremonies of Hindoo idolatry. Without disputing the authority of his father, he often sought from him information as to the reasons of his faith. He obtained no satisfaction; and he at last determined, at the early age of fifteen, to leave the paternal home, and sojourn for a time in Thibet, that he might see another form of religious faith. He spent two or three years in that country, and often excited the anger of the worshippers of the Lama by his rejection of their doctrine that this pretended deity—a living man—was the creator and preserver of the world. In these circumstances he experienced the soothing kindness of the female part of the family; and his gentle feeling heart lately dwelt, with deep interest, at the distance of more than forty years, on the recollections of that period, which, he said, had made him always feel respect and gratitude towards the female sex, and which doubtless contributed to that unvarying and re-

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

finest courtesy which marked his intercourse with them in this country.

When he returned to Hindostan, he was met by a deputation from his father, and received by him with great consideration. He appears, from that time, to have devoted himself to the study of Sanscrit and other languages, and of the ancient books of the Hindoos. He had frequent discussions with his father : through awe of him, however, he never avowed the scepticism which he entertained as to the present forms of their religion ; but from some indirect reproaches he received, he imagined that he had fallen under his father's suspicions. His father had given him, for that country, a very superior education ; but having been brought up himself in the midst of the Mussulman Court, he appears to have thought principally of those qualifications which would recommend his son to the ancient conquerors of India ; and till manhood RAMMOHUN ROY knew very little of the English language, and that little he taught himself.

"At the age of twenty-two," says the Editor of the English Edition of the Abridgment of the Vedant and the Cena Upanishad, "he commenced the study of the English language, which not pursuing with application, he five years afterwards, when I became acquainted with him, could merely speak it well enough to be understood, upon the most common topics of discourse ; but could not write it, with any degree of correctness. He was afterwards employed as Dewan, or principal native officer,

in the collection of the revenues, in the district of which he was for five years collector in the East India Company's civil service. By perusing all my public correspondence with diligence and attention, as well as by corresponding and conversing with European gentlemen, he acquired so correct a knowledge of the English language as to be enabled to write and speak it with considerable accuracy."

The father, RAM KHANT ROY, died about 1804 or 5, having two years previously divided his property among his three sons. It was not long before RAMMOHUN ROY became the only survivor; and he thereby possessed considerable property. From this period he appears to have commenced his plans of reforming the religion of his countrymen; and in the progress of his efforts to enlighten them, he must have expended large sums of money, for he gratuitously distributed most of the works which he published for the purpose. He now quitted Bordouan and removed to Moorshedabad, where he published in Persian, with an Arabic preface, a work entitled "*Against the Idolatry of all Religions.*" No one undertook to refute this book; but it raised up against him a host of enemies, and in 1814 he retired to Calcutta, where he applied himself to the study of the English language both by reading and by conversation; and he also acquired some knowledge of Latin, and paid much attention to the mathematics. At this time he purchased a garden, with a house constructed in the European mode, in the Circular Road, at the eastern extremity of the city; and he gradually gathered round him inquiring

intelligent Hindoos, of rank and opulence, some of whom united as early as 1818 in a species of monotheistic worship.

The body of Hindoo theology is comprised in the Veds, which are writings of very high antiquity, very copious, but obscure in style; and about two thousand years ago, VYAS drew up a compendious abstract of the whole, accompanied with explanations of the more difficult passages. • This digest VYAS called the Vedant, or the Resolution of all the Veds. One portion of this respects the ritual, and another the principles, of religion. • It is written in the Sanserit language. RAMMOHUN ROY translated it into the Bengalee and Hindoostanee languages, for the benefit of his countrymen; and afterwards published an abridgment of it, for gratuitous and extensive distribution. Of this abridgment he published an English translation in 1816, the title of which represents the Vedant as “the most celebrated and revered work of Brahminical theology, establishing the unity of the Supreme Being, and that he alone is the object of propitiation and worship.” Towards the close of his preface he thus writes—“My constant reflections on the inconvenient, or, rather, injurious rites introduced by the peculiar practice of Hindoo idolatry, which more than any other Pagan worship destroys the texture of society—together with compassion for my countrymen—have compelled me to use every possible effort to awaken them from their dream of error; and by making them acquainted with the [their] scriptures, enable them to contemplate, with true devotion, the unity and omni-

presence of nature's God. By taking the path which conscience and sincerity direct, I, born a Brahmin, have exposed myself to the complainings and reproaches even of some of my relations, whose prejudices are strong, and whose temporal advantage depends on the present system. But these, however accumulated, I can tranquilly bear; trusting that a day will arrive when my humble endeavours will be viewed with justice—perhaps acknowledged with gratitude. At any rate, whatever men may say, I cannot be deprived of this consolation—my motives are acceptable to that Being who beholds in secret and compensates openly.”

After the publication of the Vedant, RAMMOHUN ROY printed, in Bengalee and in English, some of the principal chapters of the Veds. The first of the series was published in 1816, and is entitled “A Translation of the Cena Upanishad, one of the Chapters of the Sama Veda, according to the gloss of the celebrated Shancaracharya; establishing the Unity and Sole Omnipotence of the Supreme Being, and that He alone is the object of Wership.” This was prefixed to a reprint of the Abridgment of the Vedant, published in London, in 1817, by some one who had enjoyed personal intimacy with him. The English preface contains a letter from RAMMOHUN ROY to this gentleman, which shows how well he had, even at that time, overcome the difficulties of the English language. “The consequence of my long and uninterrupted researches into religious truth (he says in this letter) has been, that I have found the doctrines of Christ more conducive to moral principles,

and better adapted for the use of rational beings, than any other which have come to my knowledge; and have also found Hindoos in general more superstitious and miserable, both in performance of their religious rites and in their domestic concerns, than the rest of the known nations of the earth." He then proceeds to state what he had done in order to render them "more happy and comfortable both here and hereafter;" and adds, "I, however, in the beginning of my pursuits, met with the greatest opposition from their self-interested leaders the Brahmins, and was deserted by my nearest relations; and I consequently felt extremely melancholy. In that critical situation, the only comfort that I had was the consoling and rational conversation of my European friends, especially those of Scotland and England." In that same letter he expresses his full expectation of speedily setting off for England; but says that he had been prevented from proceeding so soon as he could wish, by the spread of his views, and the inclination manifested by many to seek for truth.

It is not surprising that the interested advocates for heathen worship should endeavour to uphold it by imputations on the character of the Reformer; and some one did publicly charge him with "rashness, self-conceit, arrogance, and impiety." Every member of his own family opposed him; and he experienced even the bitter alienation of his mother through the influence of the interested persons around her. In his early days, his mother was a woman of fine understanding; but, through the influence of superstitious bigotry, she had

been among his most bitter opponents. He, however, manifested a warm and affectionate attachment towards her; and it was with a glistening eye that he told us she had "repented" of her conduct towards him. Though convinced that his doctrines were true, she could not throw off the shackles of idolatrous customs. "RAMMOHUN," she said to him, before she set out on her last pilgrimage to Juggernaut, where she died, "you are right; but I am a weak woman, and am grown too old to give up these observances, which are a comfort to me." She maintained them with the most self-denying devotion. She would not allow a female servant to accompany her; or any other provision to be made for her comfort or even support on her journey; and when at Juggernaut, she engaged in sweeping the temple of the idol. There she spent the remainder of her life—nearly a year if not more; and there she died. He recently stated, however, that before her death she expressed her great sorrow for what had passed, and declared her conviction in the unity of God, and the futility of Hindoo superstition.

D'ACOSTA, the editor of a journal at Calcutta, transmitted to the Abbé GREGOIRE, in 1818, the various publications of this extraordinary man, with some account of his history; and through GREGOIRE, RAMMOHUN ROY became extensively known and highly appreciated in France. D'ACOSTA says, that he carefully avoided every thing that could afford a pretext for excluding him from his caste, since, as a Brahmin, it was his acknowledged duty to instruct his countrymen in the sense and real

commands of their sacred books. He speaks of him as distinguished in his controversy more by his logical mode of reasoning than by his general views, though far from deficient in philosophy or information. He says that all his conversation, his actions, and his manners evince a powerful sentiment of individual dignity; while, in general, meanness and feebleness of mind are characteristic of the Hindoo; and that his ingenuous conversation often shows, in a strain half serious and half sportive, all that he wished to be able to do for his country. As to his personal exterior at that period, D'ACOSTA says,—“He is tall and robust; his regular features, and habitually grave countenance, assume a most pleasing appearance when he is animated: he appears to have a slight disposition to melancholy.” “The moderation,” adds Abbé GREGOIRE, “with which he repels the attacks on his writings, the force of his arguments, and his profound knowledge of the sacred books of the Hindoos, are proofs of his fitness for the work he has undertaken; and the pecuniary sacrifices he has made, show a disinterestedness which cannot be encouraged or admired too warmly.”

It was about this period that Lieut.-Col. FITZCLARENCE, now the Earl of MUNSTER, became acquainted with RAMMOHUN ROY. He speaks highly of this “most extraordinary” Brahmin, of his talents and learning, his intimate knowledge of our language and eloquence in the use of it, his extensive acquaintance with our literature as well as with the Arabic and Sanscrit, his clear intelligence of the politics of Europe and especially of

England, of his fine person, and most courtly manners. The representations of the Earl indicate the amazing extent, tenaciousness, and accuracy of his memory; and in this and other respects fully accord with what we learn of him from other sources; the Author was, however, mistaken in supposing that he had been "declared to have lost caste." RAMMOHUN ROY recently stated that every effort had been made for the purpose, and that he had had, at an enormous expense, to defend himself against a series of legal proceedings instituted for the purpose of depriving him of caste, and thereby of his patrimonial inheritance. Through his profound acquaintance, however, with the Hindoo law, he baffled the efforts of his interested enemies, and proved in the Courts of justice that he had not forfeited his rights. These legal proceedings must have continued, in different ways, for several years. They appear to have terminated in the Provincial Court no long time before RAMMOHUN ROY set out for England. On leaving Calcutta, he charged his two sons to forget the conduct of their cousins in connection with them.

Besides essentially contributing to the establishment and maintenance of native schools, RAMMOHUN ROY directed his efforts, and with great success, towards the extinction of the practice of burning widows. One of his tracts on this subject he dedicated to the Marchioness of HASTINGS, when the Marquis was Governor General.

It has already been shown that as early as 1817 he had directed his attention to the Christian religion; but he found himself greatly perplexed by the various

doctrines which he saw insisted upon as essential to Christianity, in the writings of Christian authors, and in conversation with those Christian teachers with whom he had communication : he resolved, therefore, to study the original Scriptures for himself ; and for this purpose he acquired the knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek languages. Becoming strongly impressed with the excellence and importance of the Christian system of morality, he published, in 1820, in English, Sanscrit, and Bengalee, a series of selections, principally from the first three Gospels, which he entitled, "The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness." He passed by those portions of the Evangelists which have been made the basis of distinctive doctrines ; and also (except where closely interwoven with the discourses of Christ) the narratives of miracles—believing these to be less fitted to affect the convictions of his countrymen, while the preceptive part he deemed most likely "to produce the desirable effect of improving the hearts and minds of men of different persuasions and degrees of understanding." "This simple code of religion and morality," he says, at the close of his preface, "is so admirably calculated to elevate men's ideas to high and liberal notions of one God, who has equally subjected all living creatures, without distinction of caste, rank or wealth, to change, disappointment, pain and death, and has equally admitted all to be partakers of the beautiful mercies which he has lavished over nature ; and is also so well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to God, to them-

selves, and to society ; that I cannot but hope the best effects from its promulgation in the present form."

This work was published anonymously, but without concealment of the source. It brought upon him some severe and unexpected animadversions in "The Friend of India"; the writer of which uncourteously, as well as most unjustly, spoke of the Compiler as a *heathen*. Under the designation of "A Friend to Truth," RAMMOHUN ROY published an Appeal to the Christian Public in defence of the "Precepts of Jesus"; in which he declares, that the expressions employed in the preface should have shown the opponent "that the Compiler believed, not only in one God whose nature and essence is beyond human comprehension, but in the truths revealed in the Christian system." He further maintains that the "Precepts of Jesus" "contain not only the essence of all that is necessary to instruct mankind in their civil duties, but also the best and only means of obtaining the forgiveness of our sins, the favor of God, and strength to overcome our passions and to keep his commandments." He defends the system which the Compiler had adopted to introduce Christianity to the native inhabitants, by appealing to the fact that nearly three-fifths are Hindoos and two-fifths Moosulmans, the latter devoted from their infancy to the belief in one God ; and declares that, from his own experience in religious controversy with them, he is satisfied that he was rendering them most service by making them acquainted with those precepts (by which he appears to have meant, more generally, *instructions*) "the obedience to which he

believed most peculiarly required of a Christian, and such as could by no means tend in doctrine to excite the religious horror of the Mohammedans, or the scoffs of the Hindoos." "Such dogmas or doctrinal and other passages," he afterwards says, "as are not exposed to those objections, and are not unfamiliar to the minds of those for whose benefit the compilation was intended, are generally included, in conformity with the avowed plan of the work ; particularly such as seem calculated to direct our love and obedience to the beneficent Author of the universe, and to him whom he graciously sent to deliver those precepts of religion and morality, whose tendency is to promote universal peace and harmony." When replying to the objections of the Reviewer, that the precepts of Christ do not shew how to obtain the forgiveness of sins and the favor of God, the Friend of Truth extracts from the compilation "a few passages of that greatest of all prophets who was sent to call sinners to repentance"; and adds, "Numerous passages of the Old and New Testaments to the same effect, which might fill a volume, distinctly promise us that the forgiveness of God and the favor of his Divine Majesty may be obtained by sincere repentance, as required of sinners by the Redeemer."

On these anonymous publications, Dr. MARSHMAN, of Serampore College, published a series of animadversions which led to a very remarkable reply from RAMMOHUN Roy—the Second Appeal—with his name prefixed, which is distinguished by the closeness of his reasonings, the extent and critical accuracy of his scriptural

knowledge, the comprehensiveness of his investigations, the judiciousness of his arrangement, the lucid statement of his own opinions, and the acuteness and skill with which he controverts the positions of his opponents. All the publications of this controversy were soon reprinted in London; and those who wish to become acquainted with the sentiments of this remarkable man, as to his Christian belief generally, and his own opinions respecting God and Christ, may be referred with confidence, and in an especial manner, to this Second Appeal to the Christian Public in defence of the "Precepts of Jesus." The doctrine maintained in it respecting God, is thus stated by himself:—"That the Omnipotent God, who is the only proper object of religious veneration, is one and undivided in person"; that "in reliance on numerous promises found in the sacred writings, we ought to entertain every hope of enjoying the blessings of pardon from the merciful Father, through repentance, which is declared the only means of procuring forgiveness for our failures"; and that he leads "such as worship him in spirit to righteous conduct, and ultimately to salvation, through his guiding influence which is called the Holy Spirit," "given as the consequence of their sincere prayer and supplication." And respecting "Jesus of Nazareth" he speaks as the "Christ of God": he says he places "implicit confidence" in his "veracity, candour, and perfection": he represents him as "a Being in whom dwelt all truth, and who was sent with a divine law to guide mankind by his preaching and example"; as receiving from the

Father, "the commission to come into the world for the salvation of mankind"; as judging the world by the wisdom of God; as being "empowered to perform wonderful works"; he speaks of his subordinate nature and receiving all the powers which he manifested from the Father; but also of his being "superior even to the angels in heaven, living from the beginning of the world to eternity"; and of the Father's creating "all things by him and for him"; and he dwells with great satisfaction (pp. 162—167) on the conclusion to which the instructions of Christ had led him, that the "unity existing between the Father and himself," is "a subsisting concord of will and design, such as existed among his Apostles, and not identity of being." "Had not experience (he concludes) too clearly proved that such metaphorical expressions, when taken singly and without attention to their contexts, may be made the foundation of doctrines quite at variance with the tenor of the rest of the Scriptures, I should have had no hesitation in submitting indiscriminately the whole of the doctrines of the New Testament to my countrymen; as I should have felt no apprehension that even the most ignorant of them, if left to the guidance of their own unprejudiced views of the matter, could misconceive the clear and distinct assertions they every where contain of the unity of God and subordinate nature of his messenger, Jesus Christ."

The Second Appeal called forth another work from Dr. MARSHMAN; to which RAMMOHUN ROY published a reply in 1823, under the title of the Final Appeal.

His preceding works had been printed at the Baptist Missionary Press; but the acting proprietor declined, "although in the politest manner possible," to print the *Final Appeal*; and RAMMOHUN ROY purchased type, and commenced an independent printing press for this and other similar publications. The imprint is "Calcutta: printed at the Unitarian Press, Dhurmtollah." He depended chiefly on native aid; and in consequence the original work has many errata. In the Preface he states that this controversy had prevented other publications which he had projected for his countrymen, as well as drawn him for three years from other literary pursuits; and that it had caused much coolness towards him in the demeanour of some whose friendship he held very dear: nevertheless, that he did not wish he had pursued a different course, since, he says, "whatever may be the opinion of the world, my own conscience fully approves of my past endeavours to defend what I esteem the cause of truth."

The Editor of the *Indian Gazette*, in adverting to this discussion, and to the other labours of this distinguished native, thus writes:—"We say distinguished, because he is so among his own people, by caste, rank, and respectability; and among all men he must ever be distinguished for his philanthropy, his great learning, and his intellectual ascendancy in general." As to the controversy arising from the Precepts of Jesus, the Editor says that whatever other effects it may have caused, "it still further exhibited the acuteness of his mind, the logical power of his intellect, and the unrivalled

good temper with which he could argue : " it roused up " a most gigantic combatant in the theological field—~~the~~ combatant who, we are constrained to say, has not yet met with his match here."

To the public testimonies already adduced, may be added that of the celebrated SISMONDI, who, in an article in the *Revue Encyclopédique* for 1824, after some important observations respecting the institution of castes and the sacrifice of widows, thus proceeds : " A glorious reform has, however, begun to spread among the Hindoos. A Brahmin, whom those who know India agree in representing as one of the most virtuous and enlightened of men, RAMMOHUN ROY, is exerting himself to restore his countrymen to the worship of the true God, and to the union of morality and religion. His flock is small, but increases continually. He communicates to the Hindoos all the progress that thought has made among the Europeans. He is among them, by a much juster title than the Missionaries, the Apostle of Christianity."

CHAPTER I.

ENGLISH IMPRESSIONS OF RAMMOHUN ROY,

*Derived from documents which reached England
before his visit.*

HALF a century has now elapsed since the attention of the religious public in Great Britain was first drawn to the wonderful man who is the subject of the present volume. Those who are acquainted with India at the present time, when the efforts of the British Government have long been directed to advancing the material resources of that great country, as well as to promote intellectual and moral improvement, and who are aware how gladly these efforts are seconded by the intellectual part of the native population, can hardly realize the difficulties which the first Hindoo Reformer must have had to encounter. This must be borne in mind when tracing the progress of the extraordinary individual, who, for so long a period, stood alone to encounter the hostility of a whole people sunk in the most degrading idolatry.

The first English notice we find of RAMMOHUN ROY occurs in the Periodical Accounts of the Baptist Missionary Society, Vol. VI., pp. 106—109, of the date of 1816 :—

“RAMA-MOHUNA-RAYA, a very rich Barhee Brahmun of Calcutta, is a respectable Sungskrita scholar, and so well versed in Persian, that he is called MOULUVEE-RAMA-MOHUNA-RAYA* : he also writes English with correctness, and reads with ease English mathematical and metaphysical works. He has published in Bengalee one or two philosophical works, from the Sungskrita, which he hopes may be useful in leading his countrymen to renounce idolatry. Europeans breakfast at his house, at a separate table, in the English fashion ; he has paid us a visit at Soanapore, and at a late interview, after relating an anecdote of Krishna, relative to a petty theft by this god, he asked, ‘The sweeper of my house would not do such an act. Can I worship a god sunk lower than the man who is a menial servant?’ He is at present a simple theist, admires Jesus Christ, but knows not his *need* of the atonement. He has not renounced his caste, and this enables him to visit the richest families of Hindoos. He is said to be very moral ; but is pronounced to be a most wicked man by the strict Hindoos.”

Subjoined to this is a copy of RAMMOHUN ROY'S Preface to his Translation of the Abridgment of the Vedanta. The passage closes as follows:

* In this and in other extracts, the original orthography is preserved.

"Of this man Mr. YATES writes thus, in a letter dated Aug., 1816 :—' I was introduced to him about a year ago : before this, he was not acquainted with any one who cared for his soul. Some time after, I introduced EUSTACE CAREY to him, and we have had repeated conversations with him. When I first knew him he would talk only on metaphysical subjects, such as the eternity of matter, the nature and qualities of evidence, &c., but he has lately become much more humble, and disposed to converse about the gospel. He has many relations, Brahmuns, and has established religious worship among them. He maintains the unity of God, and hates all the heathen idolatries. He visited EUSTACE lately and stayed to family prayer, with which he was quite delighted. EUSTACE gave him Dr. WATTS'S Hymns : he said he would treasure them up in his heart. He has been at Serampore once, and has engaged to come and see me in the course of a few weeks. He has offered EUSTACE a piece of ground for a school.'"

A fuller account of RAMMOHUN ROY is found in the Church of England "Missionary Register" for Sept., 1816, p. 370 :—

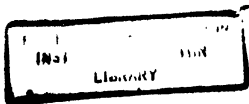
"We have been favored with a sight of a tract, printed at Calcutta in the present year (1816), with the following title :—' Translation of an Abridgment of the Vedant, or Resolution of all the Veds ; the most celebrated and revered Work of Brahminical Theology, establishing the Unity of the Supreme Being ; and that he alone is the Object of propitiation and worship. By

* Dr. CARPENTER'S "Review," pp. 89—91.

RAMMOHUN ROY.' Before we give an account of this curious tract, it may be advantageous to our readers to know something of the author. Of RAMMOHUN ROY we have received reports from several friends. The substance of them is this : he is a Brahmin, about 32 years of age, of extensive landed property, and of great consideration and influence ; shrewd, vigilant, active, ambitious, prepossessing in his manners, versed in various languages, and busily employed in giving lectures to a number of his countrymen on the Unity of the Godhead. He is acquainted with the New Testament, and seems disposed to hear any thing which can be enforced by the authority of Christ.

“Another account carries him further as a Christian. It states that he began his studies by learning Persian ; as he considered a knowledge of that language necessary to every native of any distinction. From Persian he was led almost as a matter of course to Arabic and the Koran. His own statement is, that the religion of Mahomed at first made some impression upon him ; but when he found that the prophet carried off the beautiful wife of his slave, and attempted to establish his religion by the sword, he became convinced that it could not be from God. Then he studied our Bible in English ; and in consequence became a Christian. He has spread his doctrine to a considerable extent, and has several Hindoos of high caste and of fortune in league with him, who maintain his opinions. They call themselves a society, and are bound by certain rules, one of which is, that no man shall be admitted into their number

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except with this condition, that he renounce idol worship. Of these rules, however, they do not seem to be very uniform in the observance. One of the society, though he professes to have renounced idolatry, yet keeps in his house a number of gods, as well as two large pagodas : his society has granted him a dispensation on this head, because he possesses a certain quantity of land from the King of Delhi for this purpose, and if he were to destroy his idols, he might lose his land. One account carries the number of RAMMOHUN'S followers to nearly five hundred ; and states, that they expect soon to be strong enough to enable him publicly to avow his faith, and consequently to lose his caste, which he has hitherto not done, as it would impede his intercourse with many whom, he hopes shortly to convince. The Brahmins had twice attempted his life, but he was fully on his guard. It is stated, that after being baptized he intends to embark for England, with many of his friends, in order to pass some years in the acquisition of learning at one or both of our universities.

"RAMMOHUN writes and speaks English correctly. He has published different tracts and translations in our tongue, and in Persian and Bengalee, directed against the Hindoo idolatry and superstitions. The piece, of which we shall give an abstract, discovers little else than a discernment of the folly of the vulgar belief of his country ; and a subtle, but unsuccessful, attempt to put a good meaning on the absurd statements of its more ancient and refined creed. His judgment may possibly be convinced of the truth of Divine revelation,

but one of our correspondents represents him to be as yet but a self-confident Deist ;—disgusted with the follies of the pretended revelations from heaven, with which he has been conversant, but not yet bowed in his convictions, and humbled in his heart to the revelation of Divine mercy. We do not mean to say that the heart of RAMMOHUN ROY is not humbled, and that he has not received the gospel as the only remedy for the spiritual diseases under which he labours in common with all men ; but we have as yet seen no evidence sufficient to warrant us in this belief. We pray God to give him grace, that he may in penitence and faith embrace with all his heart the Saviour of the world.

“The tract (of which we have given the title) is short, extending to fourteen pages, quarto. It is an abridgement of the Vedant of VYAS, whom RAMMOHUN ROY represents as ‘the greatest of the Indian theologists, philosophers and poets.’ The author professes to give the real sense and meaning of the Vedant and Veds on the most important points of the Hindoo theology, which he asserts to have been misunderstood and forgotten. His various positions are supported by passages from the Vedant or Veds, and those which appear to contradict them are explained. After asserting the necessity for mankind to acquire knowledge respecting the Supreme Being, but that this knowledge is limited to very narrow bounds, the author argues from the Vedant and Veds that creating and governing power cannot be attributed to any of the various objects to which the grosser Hindoo theology attributes it ; such as the void space, air, light, nature, atoms, the soul, any

god or goddess of the earth, the sun, or any of the celestial gods. He asserts the unity, spirituality, omnipresence and omnipotence of the Supreme Being ;—that he is the sole object of worship ;—that the adoration of him is required of mankind, as well as of the celestial gods ;—that moral principle is a part of the adoration of God, with reliance on, and self-resignation to, the only true Being, and an aversion to worldly considerations ;—and that devotion to the Supreme Being is not limited to any holy place or sacred country.

“The rise of this new sect, the zeal and subtlety displayed by its founder, with its obvious tendency to undermine the fabric of Hindoo superstition, are objects of serious attention to the Christian mind. ‘Who knows,’ asks one of the friends from whom we have received these communications, ‘but this man may be one of the many instruments by which God, in his mysterious providence, may accomplish the overthrow of idolatry?’ ‘What may be the effect of this man’s labours,’ says another correspondent, ‘time will shew. Probably, they may bring the craft of Brahminism and caste into danger ; and God may be in this manner shaking the kingdom of Satan. However this may prove, that great work will be done ; and though reason and philosophy may not have a voice powerful enough to reach the hearts of these poor captives, yet the Christian missionary whom Christ sends forth will find a mouth and tongue which no man shall be able to gainsay or to resist.’” *

* * Extracted from the “Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature,” Vol. XIII., pp. 299—301, 1818.

In this, and in other extracts, the Editor of this volume refrains from expressing an opinion on the sentiments of the writer, and merely presents to the reader the views which were entertained at the time respecting RAMMOHUN ROY, and brought before the English public by the periodical literature of the day.

A notice of the Abridgment of the Vedant occurs in the same volume of the "Monthly Repository," p. 512, which is interesting, as affording from another quarter a view of the position first taken by the Hindoo Reformer:—

"Two literary phenomena of a singular nature, have very recently been exhibited in India. The first is a Hindu Deist.

"RAMMOHUN ROY, a Bramin, has published a small work, in the present year, at Calcutta, entitled 'An Abridgment of the Vedant, or Resolution of all the Veds; the most celebrated work of Braminical Theology, establishing the Unity of the Supreme Being, and that he alone is the Object of Worship.' It contains a collection of very remarkable texts from the Vedas, in which the principles of natural religion are delivered, not without dignity; and which treat all worship to inferior beings, together with the observance of rites and seasons, and the distinctions of food, as the aids of an imperfect religion, which may be altogether disregarded by those who have attained to the knowledge and love of the true God. His contemporaries and his ancestors he considers as idolators, notwithstanding the excuse of an allegorical theology which some Europeans.

have made for them. This Bramin is made to complain with feeling, in the English version, of the obloquy which he has incurred among his countrymen by the purity of his faith. He alludes no where to any other system of religion ; and passes over, in absolute silence, the labours, and indeed the existence of the missionaries."

The records of the next year mark a striking advance in RAMMOHUN ROY'S mind. The following passage is extracted from a letter from Rev. T. BEESHAM, Minister of Essex Street Chapel, London, as an introduction to a letter he had just received from a native convert to Christianity, WILLIAM ROBERTS, of Madras :—

"It is very remarkable that while the great doctrine of the unity and unrivalled supremacy of God is thus gradually working its way among the poorer classes of natives in the vicinity of Madras, it is at the same time making a triumphant progress among the higher castes of Hindoos in the great and populous city of Calcutta. RAMMOHUN ROY, a learned, eloquent, and opulent Brahmun, having, by the proper exercise of his own understanding, discovered the folly and absurdity of the Hindoo mythology and of idol worship, was led by a conscientious sense of duty to proclaim this important discovery to his countrymen, and has publicly taught the doctrine of the divine unity and perfection to the native Hindoos, and has entered his protest against their impious, barbarous and idolatrous rites. Such doctrine from a person of such exalted rank, at first excited great astonishment, and gave infinite offence. But by degrees the courage, eloquence, and perseverance

of this extraordinary man prevailed over all opposition : and it is said that many hundreds of the native Hindoos, and especially of the young people, have embraced his doctrine. He does not profess to be a Christian. He told a worthy clergyman at Calcutta about a year ago, that he preferred Christianity to all other religions, and would certainly embrace it, if it were not for the doctrine of the Trinity. This was an insurmountable obstacle. At the beginning of this year, in January, 1817, he informed the same respectable clergyman, that he was now in the way of ascertaining whether the doctrine of the Trinity is or is not the doctrine of the New Testament : for that he and twenty other learned Brahmuns had determined to sit down, and study the Gospel with the greatest possible attention and impartiality, in order to discover their real meaning; and he did not think it possible that twenty serious and impartial inquirers, who sought after nothing but truth, and who earnestly implored divine illumination and direction, would be suffered to fall into an erroneous conclusion. The result of this inquiry has not yet reached England." *

During the years 1816, 1817, RAMMOHUN ROY issued various pamphlets, of which a list is given in the Appendix, all tending to prove to his countrymen the unity of the deity from their own sacred writings. These were translated into English, and a full review of them is given in the "Monthly Repository" for 1819, Vol. xiv., pp. 561—569. As these works are probably

* "Christian Reformer," Vol. iv., p. 2, 1818.

inaccessible to most readers, some extracts from this review will be interesting as indicating the modes of thought of the author:—

“The ‘Ishopanished’ is another chapter of the Veds, strongly asserting, as the pious translator says, ‘that the sole regulator of the universe is but one, omnipresent, surpassing our powers of comprehension, above external sense, whose worship is the chief duty of mankind, and the sole cause of eternal beatitude.’ In the Preface is obviated the objection that the *Puranas*, &c., admitted expositions of the Hindoo shasters or sacred books, inculcate ‘the worship of the several gods and goddesses.’ ‘They affirm frequently,’ says the Reformer, ‘that the directions to worship any figured beings are only applicable to those who are incapable of elevating their minds to the idea of an invisible Supreme Being, in order that such persons, by fixing their attention on those invented figures, may be able to restrain themselves from vicious temptations, and that those that are competent for the worship of the invisible God should disregard the worship of idols.’

• ‘Many learned Brahmins are perfectly aware of the absurdity of idolatry, and are well informed of the nature of the purer mode of divine worship. But as in the rites, ceremonies and festivals of idolatry, they find the source of their comforts and fortune, they not only never fail to protect idol worship from all attacks, but even advance and encourage it to the utmost of their power, by keeping the knowledge of their Scriptures concealed from the rest of the people. Their followers, too, confiding in these leaders, feel gratification in the idea of the Divine nature residing in a being resembling themselves in birth, shape and propensities; and are naturally delighted with a mode of worship agreeable to the senses,

though destructive of moral principles, and the fruitful parent of prejudice and superstition.'—*Pref.*, pp. ix. x.

"The zealous writer goes on to controvert the liberal opinion of some Europeans that the Hindoos regard their idols, as the Roman Catholics say they do their crucifixes and pictures, as mere helps to contemplation; an opinion, he says, which very naturally arises out of 'the extreme absurdity of pure, unqualified idolatry,' and under which, 'flimsy and borrowed' as it is, he is glad to see the Hindoos willing to shelter their practices, inasmuch as such a disposition shews that they are beginning to be sensible of their folly. He declares, however, that 'Hindoos of the present age, with a very few exceptions,' are downright and gross idolaters.

'For whatever Hindoo purchases an idol in the market, or constructs one with his own hands, or has one made up under his own superintendence, it is his invariable practice to perform certain ceremonies, called *Pūn Pratiṣṭha*, or the endowment of animation, by which he believes that its nature is changed from that of the mere materials of which it is formed, and that it acquires not only life but supernatural powers. Shortly afterwards, if the idol be of the masculine gender, he marries it to a feminine one, with no less pomp and magnificence than he celebrates the nuptials of his own children. The mysterious process is now complete, and the god and goddess are esteemed the arbiters of his destiny, and continually receive his most ardent adoration.

'At the same time, the worshipper of images ascribes to them at once the opposite natures of human and of super-human beings. In attention to their supposed wants as living beings, he is seen feeding, or pretending to feed them, every morning and evening; and as in the hot season he is careful to fan them, so in the cold he is equally regardful of their comfort, covering them by day and night with warm clothing, and placing them at night in a snug bed.'—*Pref.*, pp. xiii. xiv.

“The doctrine of the Vedant that ‘God is everywhere and every thing is in God,’ which is, it seems, pleaded in behalf of Hindoo idolatry, amounts to no more, according to RAMMOHUN ROY, than ‘that nothing is absent from God, and nothing bears real existence except by the volition of God, whose existence is the sole support of the conceived existence of the universe, which is acted upon by him in the same manner as a human body is by a soul.’

“Reformers are opposed every where by the same prejudices. Idolatry is defended in Hindoostan by the argument of custom.

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‘Let the authors of the Veds, Poorans and Tuntiras,’ it is said, ‘assert what they may in favor of devotion to the Supreme Being, but idol worship has been practised for so many centuries that custom renders it proper to continue that worship.’ It is, however, evident to every one possessed of common sense, that custom or fashion is quite different from divine faith; the latter proceeding from spiritual authorities and correct reasoning, and the former being merely the fruit of vulgar caprice. What can justify a man, who believes in the inspiration of his religious books, in neglecting the direct authorities of the same works, and subjecting himself entirely to custom and fashion, which are liable to perpetual changes, and depend upon popular whim?

“I may conclude this subject with an appeal to the good sense of my countrymen, by asking them whose advice appears the most disinterested and most rational,—that of those who, concealing your Scriptures from you, continually teach you thus: ‘believe whatever we may say—don’t examine or even touch your Scriptures—neglect entirely your reasoning faculties—do not only consider us, whatever may be our principles, as gods on earth, but humbly adore and propitiate us by sacrificing to us the greater part (if not the whole) of your property:’ or that of the man who lays your Scriptures and their comments, as well as their translations, before you, and solicits you to examine their purport,

without neglecting the proper and moderate use of reason ; and to attend strictly to their directions, by the rational performance of your duty to your sole Creator, and to your fellow-creatures, and also to pay true respect to those who think and act righteously ? I hope no one can be so prejudiced as to be unable to discern which advice is most calculated to lead him to, the best road to both temporal and eternal happiness.'—*Pref.*, pp. xxi.—xviii.

“After the Preface is an introduction, which we lay before the reader as a whole, on account of the pure moral feeling which it expresses :

‘The physical powers of man are limited ; and when viewed comparatively, sink into insignificance ; while in the same ratio his moral faculties rise in our estimation, as embracing a wide sphere of action, and possessing a capability of almost boundless improvement. If the short duration of human life be contrasted with the great age of the universe, and the limited extent of bodily strength with the many objects to which there is a necessity of applying it, we must necessarily be disposed to entertain but a very humble opinion of our own nature ; and nothing, perhaps, is so well calculated to restore our self-complacency as the contemplation of our more extensive moral powers, together with the highly beneficial objects which the appropriate exercise of them may produce. On the other hand, sorrow and remorse can scarcely fail, sooner or later, to be the portion of him who is conscious of having neglected opportunities of rendering benefit to his fellow-creatures. From considerations like these, it has been that I (although born a *Brahmin*, and instructed in my youth in all the principles of that sect), being thoroughly convinced of the lamentable errors of my countrymen, have been stimulated to employ every means in my power to improve their minds, and lead them to the knowledge of a purer system of morality. Living constantly amongst *Hindoos* of different sects and professions, I have had ample opportunity of observing the superstitious puerilities into which they have been thrown by their self-interested guides ; who, in defiance of the law as well as of common sense, have succeeded but too well in conducting them to the temple of idolatry ;

and while they hid from their view the true substance of morality, have infused into their simple hearts a weak attachment for its mere shadow. For the chief part of the theory and practice of *Hindooism*, I am sorry to say, is made to consist in the adoption of a peculiar mode of diet, the least aberration from which (even though the conduct of the offender may in other respects be pure and blameless) is not only visited with the severest censure, but actually punished by exclusion from the society of his family and friends. In a word, he is doomed to undergo what is commonly called loss of caste. On the contrary, the rigid observance of this grand article of *Hindoo* faith, is considered in so high a light as to compensate for every moral defect. Even the most atrocious crimes weigh little or nothing in the balance against the supposed guilt of its violation. Murder, theft, or perjury, though brought home to the party by a judicial sentence, so far from inducing loss of caste, is visited in their society with no peculiar mark of infamy or disgrace. A trifling present to the *Brahmin*, commonly called *Prâyaschit*, with the performance of a few idle ceremonies, are held as a sufficient atonement for all those crimes; and the delinquent is at once freed from all temporal inconvenience, as well as all dread of future retribution. My reflections upon these solemn truths have been most painful for many years. I have never ceased to contemplate, with the strongest feelings of regret, the obstinate adherence of my countrymen to their fatal system of idolatry, inducing, for the sake of propitiating their supposed deities, the violation of every humane and social feeling. And this in various instances; but more especially in the dreadful acts of self-destruction, and the immolation of the nearest relations, under the delusion of conforming to sacred religious rites. I have never ceased, I repeat, to contemplate these practices with the strongest feelings of regret, and to view in them the moral debasement of a race who, I cannot help thinking, are capable of better things; whose susceptibility, patience and mildness of character, render them worthy of a better destiny. Under these impressions, therefore, I have been compelled to lay before them genuine translations of parts of their Scripture, which inculcates not only the enlightened worship of one God, but the purest principles of morality, accompanied with such notices as I deemed requisite to

oppose the arguments employed by the *Brahmins* in defence of their beloved system. Most earnestly do I pray that the whole may, sooner or later, prove efficient in producing on the minds of *Hindoos* in general, a conviction of the rationality of believing in and adoring the Supreme Being only; together with a complete perception and practice of that grand and comprehensive moral principle, 'Do unto others as ye would be done by.'

This courageous attack on the long-established and prevailing religion of his countrymen is most remarkable, when we consider that the author of it was brought up in the midst of gross idolatry, and with none around him to guide him to a purer religion, or to open his eyes to its baneful nature, in perverting the moral nature of man, and degrading the whole system of society. Such an instance is probably unparalleled in the history of the world. The Hindoo Reformer had entered on a mighty conflict, single handed. RAMMOHUN ROY was speedily attacked in his own language by an "Apolo- gist for the present system of Hindoo worship," and by an "Advocate for Idolatry, at Madras," who published a letter against him in the *Madras Courier*. Notwithstanding all opposition, however, he succeeded in awakening the attention of many of his countrymen, by the simple force of truth, set forth by his masterly mind. When writing to the Editor of the Translation of the *Cena Unpanishad*, he says at the close of a letter from which extracts were made in the Biographical Sketch :

"I now with the greatest pleasure inform you, that several of my countrymen have risen superior to their prejudices; many are inclined to seek for the truth;

and a great number of those who dissented from me have now coincided with me in opinion. This engagement has prevented me proceeding to Europe as soon as I could wish ; but you may depend upon my setting off for England within a short period of time, and if you do not return to India before October next, you will most probably receive a letter from me informing you of the exact time of my departure for England, and of the name of the vessel on which I shall embark."

The European reputation of RAMMOHUN ROY as a remarkable man, and a Reformer, was not confined to Great Britain. A French pamphlet respecting him was forwarded to the Editor of the "Monthly Repository," (xv., 1820,) by the Abbé GREGOIRE, formerly Bishop of Blois, and which was afterwards inserted in the "Chronique Religieuse." The biographical part of this pamphlet was derived from communications from the learned M. D'ACOSTA, then the Editor of *The Times*, at Calcutta. The following extract presents several interesting features of the life of RAMMOHUN ROY, as viewed by a foreigner :—

• "Whatever be the abstract merit of RAMMOHUN ROY, there is, probably, throughout India no Brahmin who is less a Brahmin and less a Hindoo than he ; and thousands of dupes who have suffered the loss of their caste have been less offenders against the peculiarities of their religion than he.

"RAMMOHUN ROY, considering that youth is the period most adapted to the reception of novelties, either good or bad, has established a school at his own expense,

where fifty children are taught Sanscrit, English and Geography. How slender soever these attempts at reform may appear, they will, probably, more or less rapidly attain their object; aided as they are by European influence, and, above all, by the art of printing. It is against the division of his countrymen into castes that RAMMOHUN ROY's correcting hand is turned, and in that the strength of his judgment is evinced. The distinction of castes may be regarded as the cement of the polytheism and the other errors prevalent in India: let that distinction disappear, and all the Hindoo superstitions will crumble beneath the touch of human reason. It is the division into castes, carried to a frightful excess, which consolidates the Hindoo system, by incorporating it with the daily habits of domestic life. In fact, European institutions themselves are not altogether exempt from the influence of this vicious principle: legitimacy, taken as an absolute rule; hereditary nobility and the privileges of the first-born, are the same thing; or rather, are remnants of it, which cannot without difficulty be destroyed.

"RAMMOHUN ROY, adapting his measures to the place and the times in which he lives, as well as the sort of men he is attempting to enlighten, does not oppose the institution of castes by abstract reasonings (for they would be useless), but by the authority of the Vedant, which he is careful not to bring into dispute, and of which he professes to be but the commentator. The discretion which regulates his conduct prevents any action revolting to the prejudices of his fellow-sectaries.

or capable of affording an excuse for his exclusion. He has, nevertheless, risen above many littlenesses: he scruples not to seat himself with an European who is eating; sometimes he even invites Europeans to his house, and treats them according to their own taste. Far, however, from wishing to lose his Brahminical dignity, it is upon *that* he founds his enterprise; asserting that it is his duty, as a Brahmin, to instruct his countrymen in the sense and in the real commands of their sacred books. His efforts are directed towards the destruction of that prejudice which prevents the different castes from eating together. He considers that this amelioration is the most essential, and will affect every other, even the *political*, amelioration of his country—and this is an object to which he is not indifferent. Every six months he publishes a little tract, in Bengalee and in English, developing his system of theism; and he is always ready to answer the pamphlets published at Calcutta or Madras in opposition to him. He takes pleasure in this controversy; but although far from deficient in philosophy, or in knowledge, he distinguishes himself more by his logical mode of reasoning than by his general views. He appears to feel the advantage which it gives him with the Methodists, some of whom are endeavouring to convert him. He seems to have prepared himself for his polemical career from the logic of the Arabians, which he regards as superior to every other; he asserts, likewise, that he has found nothing in European books equal to the scholastic philosophy of the Hindoos.

“We may easily imagine that a man who has raised himself so much above the level of his countrymen by his intellectual attainments, cannot exactly resemble them in his conduct. He not only refrains from their superstitious practices (which is not saying much in his favour, since he might do so from various causes not highly laudable), but, what is much more important, all his conversation, his actions and manners, evince a powerful sentiment of individual dignity; whilst, in general, meanness and feebleness of mind are characteristic of the Hindoo. Influenced, like those around him, with the spirit of order, economy and knowledge of the value of money, acquired by their mercantile education, RAMMOHUN ROY does not view the augmentation of property as the most important object: his fortune consists of the wealth he received from his ancestors: he does not give his mind to any kind of commercial speculation. He would consider that mode of life beneath his station and the duties of a Brahmin. He derives no pecuniary advantage from his works; and, in all probability, desirous as he may be of power and distinction, he would not accept of the Government any place that should be merely lucrative; to *solicit* one of any description he would not condescend. It is not likely, however, that the Government will make trial of his inclination: it would not suit the policy of the present masters of his country to give encouragement to a subject whose soul is so lofty, and whose ingenuous conversation often shews, in a strain half serious and half jesting, all that he wishes to be able to

do for his country. He cultivates a friendly connexion with many Europeans, distinguished by their rank or their merit; he appears not to seek connexions of any other kind. Within the last year or two he has been less in society than formerly.

“RAMMOHUN ROY, as has already been shewn, is not yet forty years old; he is tall and robust; his regular features and habitually grave countenance assume a most pleasing appearance when he is animated. He appears to have a slight disposition to melancholy. The whole of his conversation and manners shew, at first sight, that he is above mediocrity. He frequently talks of going into Europe, but apparently considers it desirable first to mollify so far the prejudices of his countrymen that he may not by that voyage, which is regarded as unlawful, expose himself to excommunication. It is very doubtful whether he will succeed in this attempt; the hope, however, which he cherishes, is a decided proof of the character of his mind. * *

“It is singular that this philosophic Indian, who, as has been shewn in this little sketch, has enlarged views respecting the amelioration of the men of his country, has not the least idea of improving the females; of whom he avoids even the mention. We must suppose that this sort of prejudice, inspired by the Shasters, though general amongst the Hindoos, has been perpetuated in so enlightened a mind only by the circumstances of RAMMOHUN ROY's domestic life: it is known that every member of his family verifies the proverb, by opposing with the greatest vehemence all his projects

of reform. None of them, not even his wife, would accompany him to Calcutta; in consequence of which he rarely visits them in Bordouan, where they reside. They have disputed with him even the superintendence of the education of his nephews; and his fanatical mother shews as much ardour in her incessant opposition to him, as he displays in his attempts to destroy the idolatry of the Hindoos.

"CALCUTTA, *Næ.* 8, 1818." *

A testimony from a different source is not less interesting; it has been already alluded to in the Biographical Sketch. It is taken from p. 106 of a "Journal of a Route across India, through Egypt to England, in the years 1817 and 1818. By Lieut.-Col. FITZCLARENCE." 4to. 1819:—

"There has never been, to my knowledge, an instance of any Hindoo of condition or caste being converted to our faith. The only conversion of any kind, if it can be called so, that has come within my observation, was that of a high-caste Brahmin, of one of the first families in the country, who is not only perfect master of the Sanscrit, but has gained a thorough acquaintance with the English language and literature, and has openly declared that the Brahminical religion is in its purity a pure Deism, and not the gross polytheism into which it has degenerated. I became well acquainted with him, and admire his talents and acquirements. His eloquence in our language is very great, and I am told he is still more admirable in Arabic and Persian. It is

* "Monthly Repository," Vol. xv., pp. 2—4.

remarkable, that he has studied and thoroughly understands the politics of Europe, but more particularly those of England; and the last time I was in his company he argued forcibly against a standing army in a free country, and quoted all the arguments brought forward by the Members of the Opposition. I think that he is in many respects a most extraordinary person. In the first place, he is a religious reformer, who has, amongst a people more bigoted than those of Europe in the middle ages, dared to think for himself. His learning is most extensive, as he is not only conversant with the best books in English, Arabic, Sanscrit, Bengalee and Hindoostanee, but has even studied rhetoric in Arabic and English, and quotes LOCKE and BACON on all occasions. From the view he thus takes of the religions, manners and customs of so many nations, and from his having observed the number of different modes of addressing and worshipping the Supreme Being, he naturally turned to his own faith with an unprejudiced mind, found it perverted with the religion of the Vedas to a gross idolatry, and was not afraid, though aware of the consequences, to publish to the world in Bengalee and English his feelings and opinions on the subject; of course, he was fully prepared to meet the host of interested enemies who, from sordid motives, wished to keep the lower classes in a state of the darkest ignorance. I have understood that his family have quitted him—that he has been declared to have lost caste—and is for the present, as all religious reformers must be for a time, a mark to be scoffed at. To a man of his senti-

ments and rank this loss of caste must be particularly painful, but at Calcutta he associates with the English : he is, however, cut off from all familiar and domestic intercourse ; indeed, from all communication of any kind with his relations and former friends. His name is LAMMOHUN ROY. He is particularly handsome, not of a very dark complexion, of a fine person, and most courtly manners. He professes to have no objection to eat and live as we do, but refrains from it, in order not to expose himself to the imputation of having changed his religion or the good things of this world. He will sit at table with us while the meat is on it, which no other Brahmin will do. He continues his native dress, but keeps a marriage, being a man of some property. He is very desirous to visit England and enter one of our universities, where I shall be most anxious to see him, and to learn his ideas of our country, its manners and customs." *

We have already seen, in the introductory Biographical Sketch, how gradually the mind of the great Hindoo Reformer became attracted to Christianity; how he devoted some of the most important years of his life to the study of Hebrew and Greek, that he may himself judge of the real meaning of the Christian Scriptures; and how, being eventually fully satisfied that they taught nothing inconsistent with pure monotheism, he presented to his countrymen, as their "guide to peace and happiness," his "Precepts of Jesus." We have now learnt what persecution this work drew down

* "Monthly Repository," Vol. xv., p. 7.

on the noble author of it. It may be interesting to know how it was at the time received in England. The following passage is extracted from a review of this work, and of the "Indian Unitarian Controversy," in the "Monthly Repository" for 1821, Vol. xvi, p. 478 :

"It might have been supposed that the work of a learned Brahmin, sent forth amongst his countrymen with a title like this, "The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Peace and Happiness," would have been hailed by "a Christian Missionary," as most auspicious to his own undertaking. Even if the work had not been in every particular unexceptionable, it might have been expected that this would rather have been kindly suggested, than made a prominent subject of animadversion. An intelligent Hindu who shews himself, at all events, a friend to Christianity, and who makes it his object, at the expense of much obloquy and persecution on the part of his countrymen, to display the excellence and value of Christian precepts, could hardly count upon meeting with rebuke and reprehension from the Christian Missionaries in India. Though he should appear not to estimate sufficiently the historical testimony in favour of Christianity, and do the bulk of Christians enter into any accurate investigation of it, this is not altogether inexcusable in one who, in all probability, has had few opportunities of verifying the historical records of the New Testament, by a comparison with other histories relating to the same period. If it could be proved, indeed, that he himself rejected the evidence of the miracles of Christ, it would be doing him no

wrong to withhold from him the name of Christian : but of this we think the pamphlets before us do not afford proof ; and as he is indignant at the application to himself of the term Heathen, which he describes as a violation of truth, charity and liberality, there appears every reason to believe that he is, in the honest persuasion of his own mind, a Christian, and entertains no doubt of the divine authority of Jesus, and the truth of the Christian revelation. If so, it is to the honour of Christianity that so distinguished an inquirer after truth can for himself discover in the instructions of Christ that which commends itself to his admiration and regard : nor can it fail to gratify Unitarian Christians to find that the doctrines of the New Testament, as understood and received by them, produce conviction in the mind of such a man, and in the degree in which they are known to him, induce him to the cordial reception of Christianity, whilst the doctrines which they reject, and with which he has the best opportunity of becoming acquainted, produce no conviction, and, as far as they operate, impede his persuasion of the truth of Christianity."

In the same number of the "Monthly Repository," p. 515, occurs a copy of a private letter from RAMMOHUN ROY himself, which shews the candid and earnest spirit with which he was entering on his work.

This letter is dated Calcutta, Sept. 5, 1820. After expressing 'grateful acknowledgments' of his correspondent, Col. B——r's, 'frequent remembrance,' RAMMOHUN thus proceeds.

“As to the opinion intimated by Sir SAMUEL T——R, respecting the medium course in Christian dogmas, I never have attempted to oppose it. I regret only that the followers of Jesus, in general, should have paid much greater attention to inquiries after his nature than to the observance of his commandments, when we are well aware that no human acquirements can ever discover the nature even of the most common and visible things, and, moreover, that such inquiries are not enjoined by the divine revelation.

“On this consideration I have compiled several passages of the New Testament which I thought essential to Christianity, and published them under the designation of Precepts of Jesus, at which the Missionaries at Shraïnampoor have expressed great displeasure, and called me, in their review of the tract, an injurer of the cause of truth. I was, therefore, under the necessity of defending myself in an ‘Appeal to the Christian Public,’ a few copies of which tracts I have the pleasure to send you, under the care of Captain S——, and intreat your acceptance of them.

“I return, with my sincere acknowledgments, the work which Sir S. T. was so kind as to lend me. May I request the favour of you to forward it to Sir S. T., as well as a copy of each of the pamphlets, with my best compliments, and to favour me with your and Sir S. T.’s opinion respecting my idea of Christianity, as expressed in those tracts, when an opportunity may occur; as I am always open to conviction and correction.”

The writings of RAMMOHUN ROY and the controversy

which they excited attracted so much notice in British India, that an article appeared on the subject in the "Asiatic Department of the *Colecutta Journal of Politics and General Literature*," No. VIII, for Aug., 1821. Long and very interesting extracts are made from this and other Indian papers in the "Monthly Repository" for 1822, Vol. XVII, pp. 393—400. Though the whole of this might be very important and interesting in an extended memoir, yet space prevents our doing more than copy the following letter, which occurs in the *Journal* of August 1, 1821, pp. 405, 406:—

"To the Editor of the Colecutta Journal.

"SIR,—RAM MOHUN ROY may be known by name to most of your readers, and it is probable, that many of them have heard he has forsaken the idolatry and all the superstitions of the Hindoos; but ~~excepting~~ those who are personally acquainted with him, few are likely to be duly informed of his acquirements, his conduct, and his present religious belief. The Second Appeal to the Christian Public in defence of the 'Precepts of Jesus,' a work lately published by him, will make us acquainted with his religious belief, will enable us to form some idea of his acquirements, and cannot fail of producing in every *Christian*, great regard for the author, and a strong interest concerning so illustrious an individual; and the more we learn of his conduct the more will he be raised in our estimation.

"The worthy motives by which RAM MOHUN ROY is actuated, have caused him to print the work in

question, and several previous works, at his own expense, to distribute them among his acquaintance and such other persons as are likely to take an interest in the important subject on which he has written. His last publication, that above-mentioned, is too large to be reprinted in a newspaper; but its contents are so important, and do the author so much credit, that I hope some competent person will prepare a compendium thereof, and have the same published in the *Calcutta Journal*. In the mean time, you will oblige me by printing the two portions which accompany this letter: the first portion commences in p. 159, and ends in p. 164; the other commences in p. 172, and extends to the end of the work. If such persons as on reading these extracts feel a sufficient interest to desire to peruse the work with attention, apply to the author for copies, it is probable he will readily comply with their request, as far as the number of copies printed will admit.

“Here we observe an individual, born and bred in a country benighted under the most gross idolatry and superstition, who, by a just use of that understanding which our gracious Creator has given to mankind to guide them to all truths, having discovered the falsehood of that system of idolatry and the absurdity of those superstitions, conscientiously abandoned both, and thereby subjected himself to inconveniences and dangers of which persons living in more enlightened societies can hardly form an idea. Next he directed his attention to the Christian religion: and that same just and honest use of his understanding, which discovered the falsehood

and absurdity of idolatry and superstition, satisfied him that *Jesus* was the Messiah, that he was employed by God to reveal his will to men, and to make known to them the only true religion. He observed the internal and historical evidence of Christianity to be such as demonstrated its truth. Blessed with the light of Christianity, he dedicates his time and his money not only to release his countrymen from the state of degradation in which they exist, but also to diffuse among the European masters of his country, the sole true religion—as it was promulgated by Christ, his apostles and his disciples.

A FIRM BELIEVER IN CHRIST.

‘CALCUTTA, *July* 12, 1821.’

One other testimony to RAMMOHUN ROY we must quote; it is given by an Englishman who had known him in India, and is recorded in the same number of the “*Monthly Repository*,” p. 754. It is from a letter dated January, 1822:—

“When I was in Calcutta I met the native of whom I wrote to you in some of my letters of last year, and to whom you allude in your letter since received. RAMMOHUN ROY is really a wonderful man; he is not only master of almost every Eastern language (including Hebrew, but is, I may safely say, a perfect master of the English, so far as idiom goes; his pronunciation only is defective. I found him asked one evening by the friend I was living with to meet us at dinner time in a family party, that we might see him at his ease. He

talked freely of the politics of Europe, and especially of England; he seemed perfectly to understand our whole system of parliaments, &c., &c. Talking of some regulations in this country, which appeared oppressive to the natives, especially of their not being eligible to posts of rank in our service, he said readily it was certainly a hardship, but allowed that the majority were not fit for it, * * * Some of the Missionaries attacked his little books in rather a severe style, which led him to write a small pamphlet in reply. It is a perfectly Christian pamphlet, in which he acknowledges himself a convert from conviction, to the general tenets of our Bible. He could not, he says, subscribe to the Trinitarian doctrine, because, he says, he finds no authority for it in the Scripture. He argues the matter very fairly, and quotes with great ease and fluency the passages of both the Old and New Testament, explaining some maltranslations of Hebrew, which Trinitarians sometimes urge in their favour. On the whole, I wish I could send you the pamphlet of both parties: if I can I will; and I think you would find in RAMMOHUN ROY not an unable and not an uneloquent Christian in his expression, though, perhaps, you may not agree with him in all he says."

The Hindoo Reformer having fully satisfied himself of the importance of the Christian Religion, devoted himself earnestly to support it, and entered into communication on the subject not only with England but with the United States. The following interesting letter was addressed by him to a gentleman of Baltimore, and

is dated Calcutta, October 27, 1822 (*vide* "Monthly Repository" for 1823, Vol. XVIII., p. 433) :—

"I have now every reason to hope, that the truths of Christianity will not be much longer kept hidden under the veil of heathen doctrines and practices, gradually introduced among the followers of Christ, since many lovers of truth are zealously engaged in rendering the religion of Jesus clear from corruptions.

"I admire the zeal of the Missionaries sent to this country, but disapprove of the means they have adopted. In the performance of their duty, they always begin with such obscure doctrines as are calculated to excite ridicule, instead of respect, towards the religion which they wish to promulgate. The accompanying pamphlets, called 'The Braminical Magazine,' and published by a Bramin, are a proof of my assertion. The last number of this publication has remained unanswered for twelve months.

"If a body of men attempt to upset a system of doctrines generally established in a country, and to introduce another system, they are, in my humble opinion, in duty bound to prove the truth, or, at least, the superiority of their own.

"It is, however, a great satisfaction to my conscience to find, that the doctrines inculcated by Jesus and his apostles, are quite different from those human inventions, which the Missionaries are persuaded to profess, and entirely consistent with reason, and the revelation delivered by Moses and the prophets. I am, therefore, anxious to support them, even at the risk of my own

life. I rely much on the force of truth, which will, I am sure, ultimately prevail. Our number is comparatively small, but I am glad to inform you, that none of them can be justly charged with the want of zeal and prudence.*

"I wish to add, in order that you may set me right, if you find me mistaken,—my view of Christianity is, that in representing all mankind as the children of one eternal Father, it enjoins them to love one another, without making any distinction of country, caste, colour, or creed; notwithstanding, they may be justified in the sight of the Creator in manifesting their respect towards each other, according to the propriety of their actions, and the reasonableness of their religious opinions and observances.

"I shall lose no time in sending you my Final Appeal to the Christian Public, as soon as it is printed."

In a second letter (Dec. 9, 1822,) RAMMOHUN ROY remarks:—

"Although our adversaries are both numerous and zealous, as the adversaries of truth always have been, yet our prospects are by no means discouraging, if we only have the means of following up what has already been done.

"We confidently hope that, through these various means, the period will be accelerated, when the belief in the Divine Unity, and in the mission of Christ, will universally prevail."

We have already seen, in the Biographical Sketch, that RAMMOHUN ROY was not allowed to print his "Final

Appeal" at the Baptist Missionary Press, and, to give it to the public, at his own expense he set up a Unitarian Press at Dhurmtollah *. It was subsequently published in London by the Unitarian Society in a large octavo volume, together with the "First and Second Appeal," and the "Precepts of Jesus," and the prefaces of the author. The final paragraphs of the work are highly characteristic :—

"I tender my humble thanks for the Editor's kind suggestion, in inviting me to adopt the doctrine of the Holy Trinity ; but I am sorry to find that I am unable to benefit by this advice. After I have long relinquished every idea of a plurality of Gods, or of the persons of the Godhead, taught under different systems of modern Hindoism, I cannot conscientiously and consistently embrace one of a similar nature, though greatly refined by the religious reformation of modern times ; since whatever arguments can be adduced against a plurality of Gods strike with equal force against the doctrine of a plurality of persons of the Godhead ; and, on the other hand, whatever excuse may be pleaded in favour of a plurality of persons of the Deity, can be offered with equal propriety in defence of polytheism.

"I now conclude my essay by offering up thanks to the Supreme Disposer of the events of this universe for having unexpectedly delivered this country from the long-continued tyranny of its former rulers, and placed it under the government of the English, a nation who

* An original copy of the first work issued from it is in the possession of the Editor of this work, having been sent by the noble author to her father, the late Rev. Dr. CARPENTER.

not only are blessed with the enjoyment of civil and political liberty, but also interest themselves in promoting liberty and social happiness, as well as free inquiry into literary and religious subjects, among those nations to which their influence extends”*

The satisfaction which RAMMOHUN ROY received from the mark of appreciation shewn him by the publication of his work in England, is shewn by the following letter from him to Dr. T. REES, of London (*vide* “Monthly Repository,” 1824, Vol. XIX., pp. 681, 682) :—

“REVEREND SIR,—I received your letter of the 16th ~~June~~ ^{July} last, accompanied by a parcel of books to my address, with feelings of peculiar gratification. I cannot but be proud of the honour which the Committee have conferred upon me in reprinting my compilation of ‘The Precepts of Jesus,’ and the two Appeals in its defence. I beg you will oblige me by communicating to the members my warm acknowledgments for so distinguished a mark of their approbation. I also beg you will accept my best thanks for your valuable present of the Racovian Catechism, which I shall not fail to read with due attention.

“I have no language to express the happiness I derive from the idea that so many friends of truth, both in England and America, are engaged in attempting to free the originally pure simple and practical religion of Christ from the heathenish doctrines and absurd notions gradually introduced under the Roman power; and I sincerely pray that the success of those gentlemen may be as great as (if not greater than) that of LUTHER and

* “Monthly Repository,” 1823, Vol. XVIII., p. 479.

others, to whom the religious world is indebted for laying the first stone of religious reformation, and having recommended the system of distinguishing divine authority from human creeds, and the practice of benevolence from ridiculous outward observances

“ But what disappoints, or rather grieves, me much is that our sovereign (whose reign may God crown with peace and prosperity) whom all parties, either Whigs or Tories, enthusiastic radicals, or political time-servers, are compelled by the force of truth to acknowledge as the most accomplished person of his time, of most enlightened acquirements, and most liberal sentiments, should not use his royal influence to remove from the members of his National Church the fetter of a solemn oath, imposed by the *Thirty-nine Articles*, naturally liable to doubt, and disputed as these have been, from the beginning of Christianity, and that he has not caused to be discontinued the repetition of that general denunciation found in the concluding part of the Athanasian Creed, to wit, ‘*This is the Catholic faith, which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.*’ The only consolation which I can offer to myself is, that as his Majesty is the best judge of suitable opportunities for the introduction of improvement in the National Church, it is probable that in due time more enlarged principles may receive the Royal sanction

As to the state of the Unitarian Society in Calcutta, our Committee have not yet been able to purchase a suitable piece of ground for a chapel and school. They will, I hope, soon succeed in their endeavours. We have collected, partly by purchase, and partly by gift, a great

number of works, and established a pretty respectable library in Calcutta, in which I have placed the books with which you have favoured me, in the same manner as all the books that the Rev. Mr. ADAM, the Unitarian Missionary in Bengal, and myself have received at different times from England. Mr. ADAM is preparing a catalogue of the books belonging to this library, and will, I doubt not, send a few copies for the perusal of the Committee in London, Liverpool, &c.

“In the month of December last, Mr. R., a member of the firm of Messrs. M. and Co., of this place, left Bengal for Europe, and I embraced that opportunity of answering a letter I had the pleasure of receiving from the venerable Mr. BELSHAM, and begged at the same time his acceptance of a parcel of books sent in charge of that gentleman. I also sent a duplicate by the hands of Mr. S. A., a Member of the Unitarian Society in Calcutta, and a particular friend of mine. As subsequent to these despatches I received the books stated in Mr. BELSHAM's letter to have been forwarded to my address, I beg to send a short letter acknowledging the receipt of them; which I shall feel obliged by your transmitting to that gentleman.

“I have the pleasure of sending you for your acceptance a few tracts as a token of regard and respect, and remain,

“Yours most obediently,

“RAMMOHUN ROY.

“CALCUTTA, *June* 4, 1824.

“P.S.—From the pamphlet, No. 6 and 7, published by a neighbour of mine, and another by a friend, you

will perceive to what a degree of ridicule the Trinitarian preachers have brought the religion they profess among the enlightened natives of India. I hope to God these Missionaries may at length have their eyes opened to see their own errors.

“ R. M. R.”

The Unitarian Chapel he succeeded in establishing, with the cooperation of the Rev. W. ADAM, the Missionary already alluded to, and others.

The effect of this zealous devotion to the cause of truth on his worldly position, both with his countrymen and English residents, may be easily imagined. He bore it all nobly and unflinchingly. The following testimony to him on this point is valuable. It is from Mr. J. S. BUCKINGHAM, who from his arrival in India, in June, 1818, had ample opportunities of knowing him. It is from a letter dated 68, Baker Street, Portman Square, London, Aug. 4, 1823 —

“ RAMMOHUN ROY might have had abundant opportunities of receiving rewards from the Indian Government, in the shape of offices and appointments, for his mere neutrality, but being as remarkable for his integrity as he is for his attainments, he has, during the five years that I have known him, and that too most intimately and confidentially, pursued his arduous task of endeavouring to improve his countrymen, to beat down superstition, and to hasten as much as possible those reforms in the religion and government of his native land of which both stand in almost equal need. He has done all this, to the great detriment of his private interests, being rewarded by the coldness and jealousy of all the great

functionaries of Church and State in India, and supporting the Unitarian Chapel—the Unitarian Press—and the expense of his own publications, besides other charitable acts, out of a private fortune, of which he devotes more than one-third to acts of the purest philanthropy and benevolence.

“I am ready to meet any man living and confirm verbally what I here commit to writing for your use; for nothing will delight me more than to do justice to one whom I honour and esteem as I do this excellent Indian Christian and philosopher.”*

The warm interest which RAMMOHUN ROY took at this early period in the cause of freedom is evidenced by the following note to Mr. BRIDGEMAN:—

“MY DEAR SIR,—A disagreeable circumstance will oblige me to be out the whole of this afternoon, and as I shall probably on my return home feel so much fatigued as to be unfit for your company; I am afraid I must be under the necessity of denying myself the pleasure of your society this evening; more especially as my mind is depressed by the late news from Europe. I would force myself to wait on you to-night, as I proposed to do, were I not convinced of your willingness to make allowance for unexpected circumstances.

“From the late unhappy news, I am obliged to conclude that I shall not live to see liberty universally restored to the nations of Europe, and Asiatic nations, especially those that are European colonies, possessed of a greater degree of the same blessing than what they now enjoy.

* “Monthly Repository,” 1823, Vol. XIII., p. 442.

"Under these circumstances I consider the cause of the Neapolitans as my own, and their enemies as ours. Enemies to liberty and friends of despotism have never been, and never will be, ultimately successful.

"Adieu, and believe me,

"Yours very sincerely,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"*August 11th, 1821.*" *

It is not to be wondered at that warm enthusiasm was excited in the hearts of many by the noble example of the Hindoo Reformer. Multitudes shared the feelings expressed in the following passage, extracted from the "*Christian Reformer*," 1823, p. 5 :—

"We look to the East for the rising of the sun. Over the regions, so denominated, where has hung a long and dark night. The western Christians have carried back light thither, as to its source. The messengers have gained more light in their progress. Missionaries begin to reform their own minds, as well as the minds of others. They have found some sparks of truth amidst the heaps of superstition that have been accumulating for ages. One shining light, at least, has been found in a dark place. The rays of traditional truth, enshrined in the heart of the wild and monstrous system of Hindooism, guided RAMMOHUN ROY to Christianity, and to Christianity in its purity; and this virtuous and noble-minded Christian Reformer may be an instrument in the hands of Divine Providence of both awakening his natural Hindoo brethren from the slumber and

* Addressed to JAMES SILK BUCKINGHAM when at Calcutta.

incoherent dreams of centuries, and of recalling his adopted Christian brethren to the first principles of truth, the simplicity which is in Christ, and in all the dispensations and works of the Framers of all things. In the Christian Unitarian Church at Calcutta we think we see not merely a society recovered from Polytheistic superstition and Trinitarian error, but the commencement of the reformation of Asia, the breaking in of light upon darkness that envelopes myriads of God's children, the introduction of a principle which in its full development will of necessity recover the human mind from idolatry and error, from every degrading notion and every uncharitable feeling."

The progress made by RAMMOHUN ROY in drawing attention to liberal Christianity attracted considerable attention in the United States, and the Rev. Dr. WARE, Professor of Divinity in Harvard College, addressed a number of questions to him, and to Mr. ADAM respecting the best method of promoting the cause of Christianity in India. Replies were made to these at considerable length and published.

The following are extracts from the correspondence. In RAMMOHUN ROY's letter to Dr. WARE, dated Calcutta Feb. 2, 1824, is the following characteristic passage:—

"I have now prepared such replies to those queries as my knowledge authorizes and my conscience permits; and now submit them to your judgment. There is one question at the concluding part of your letter (to wit, 'Whether it be desirable that the inhabitants of India should be converted to Christianity; in what degree desirable, and for what reasons?') which I pause to

answer, as I am led to believe, from reason, what is set forth in scripture, that 'in every nation he that *worsh* God and worketh *righteousness* is accepted with him,' in whatever form of worship ~~he~~ may have been taught to glorify God. Nevertheless, I presume to think, that Christianity, if properly inculcated, has a greater tendency to improve the moral, social and political state of mankind, than any other religious system." *Corresp.*, pp. 125, 126.

The following passages are from his replies :—

'The chief causes which prevent the natives of India from changing their religion, are the same as are found in the numerous class of Christians who are unable to give an answer to any man that asketh the reason of the hope they profess, viz., their reliance on the sanctity of the books received among them as revealed authority, and the variety of prejudices planted in their minds in the early part of life. These are strongly supported by the dread of the loss of caste, the consequence of apostacy, which separates a husband from his wife, a father from his son, and a mother from her daughter. Besides, the doctrines which the Missionaries maintain and preach are less conformable with reason than those professed by Moosubmans, and in several points are equally absurd with the popular Hindoo creed. Hence there is no rational inducement for either of these tribes to lay aside their respective doctrines, and adopt those held up by the generality of Christians.'—

Corresp. p. 134.

'Unitarian Christianity is not exposed to the last-

mentioned objections ; for even those who are inimical to every religion admit that the Unitarian system is more conformable to the human understanding than any other known creed. But the other obstacles above-mentioned must remain unshaken, until the natives are enabled by the diffusion of knowledge to estimate, by comparing one religion with another, their respective merits and advantages, and to relinquish their divisions, as destructive of national union as of social enjoyment." *Corresp.*, p. 134.

The following passage shows in what light the doctrines of the Missionaries appeared to intelligent Hindoos :—

"The natives of Hindoostan, in common with those of other countries, are divided into two classes, the ignorant and the enlightened. The number of the latter is, I am sorry to say, comparatively very few here ; and to these men the idea of a triune-God, a man-God, and also the idea of the appearance of God in the bodily shape of a dove, or that of the blood of God shed for the payment of a debt, seem entirely heathenish and absurd, and consequently their sincere conversion to [Trinitarian] Christianity must be morally impossible. But they would not scruple to embrace, or at least to encourage, the Unitarian system of Christianity, were it inculcated on them in an intelligible manner. The former class, I mean the ignorant, must be enemies to both systems of Christianity, Trinitarianism and Unitarianism. As they feel great reluctance in forsaking the deities worshipped by their fathers for foreign Gods, in substituting the blood of God for the water of the

ganges as a purifying substance; so the idea of an invisible Being as the sole object of worship, maintained by Unitarians, is foreign to their understanding. Under these circumstances it would be advisable, in my humble opinion, that one or two, if not more gentlemen, well qualified to teach English literature and science, and noted for their moral conduct, should be employed to cultivate the understandings of the present ignorant generation, and thereby improve their hearts, that the cause of truth may triumph over false religion, and the desired comfort and happiness may be enjoyed by men of all classes. — *Corresp.*, pp. 135, 136.

After stating that he expected great advantage from the services of "serious and able teachers of European learning and science, and Christian morality, unmingled with religious doctrines"; and that missionary schools for corresponding purposes would be of great use, being, in his judgment, the only way of improving the understandings of the native children and ultimately meliorating their hearts; RAMMOUN ROY continues:—

"There are numerous intelligent natives, who thirst after European knowledge and literature, but not many who wish to be made acquainted with the Christian religion and to examine its truth; being chiefly deterred by the difficulty (if not utter impossibility) attached to the acquisition of a correct notion of the tremendous mystical doctrines which the Missionaries ascribe to their religion." — *Corresp.*, p. 137.*

It is probable that many English friends of enlight-

* *Vide* Dr. CARPENTER'S "Review," pp. 56—58.

ment had put themselves into communication with the Hindoo Reformer before his arrival in England. The length of time which has elapsed since his death makes it very difficult to discover traces of the correspondence which doubtless took place between them and him. The following letter to the late J. B. ESTLIN, Esq., of Bristol, for which we are indebted to his daughter, will be read with interest :—

“DEAR SIR,—Mrs. MATTHEW being about to depart for Europe, has kindly offered to take charge of any letter or pamphlet that I may address to you. I embrace this opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your letter and of the books, your excellent father’s Lectures on Moral Philosophy, &c., which I had the honor to receive through Mrs. MATTHEW upwards of two years ago, and apologizing to you for the delay which has unavoidably taken place in answering your kind communication. For a period of more than two years, owing to the most affecting circumstances arising from the hostile feelings of some individuals towards my family, I found myself totally unable to pursue any undertaking or carry on correspondence, even with those whom I sincerely loved and revered, either residing in this country or in any other part of the globe. As I intend to lay those circumstances before the public within a short period in the form of a pamphlet, I refrain from detailing them at present. I however trust that in consideration of the accident alluded to you will kindly excuse the apparent neglect of which I confess I am guilty, and for which I have no other apology to offer.

“I rejoice to learn that the friends of the cause of

religious truth have exerted themselves in the promotion of the true system of religion in India, and have remitted about 15,000 rupees to the care of Messrs. ALEXANDER and Co. for religious purposes, and that the Rev. Mr. ADAM hopes to be enabled to resume his missionary pursuits by the latter end of this month. The time of a fair trial is approaching, and truth I doubt not will expose the corruptions and absurd notions which have gradually disfigured genuine Christianity, and have brought it to a level with heathen mythology. I am happy to inform you that the books which you kindly presented me with were deservedly placed in our Library, under the care of the Rev. Mr. ADAM. A few copies of the Improved Version will be of much use to our friends here. The Rev. Mr. Fox has intimated his intention to furnish us with a certain number of that work.

"Should you happen to see Dr. CARPENTER, you will oblige me by presenting my best respects to that gentleman. I shall soon embrace an opportunity of bringing myself in writing to his recollection.

"I have the pleasure to send you a copy of a pamphlet (a Bengalee Grammar in English) which has lately been published, and beg you will accept of it as a token of the regard and respect I entertain for you. With my fervent wishes for your health and success, I remain,

"Dear Sir,

"Yours most faithfully,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"CALCUTTA, Feb. 7th, 1827."

Such are a few of the English impressions of the Hindoo Reformer, as gathered from the notices of him which reached us previously to his taking up his abode in our own country. We cannot close this chapter better than with the following tribute to him, when his health was proposed from the Chair at the annual anniversary of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, in May, 1826 :—

“Mr. ANNOTT said, ‘I hope to be excused for seizing this opportunity of bearing testimony to the inestimable character of the person whose health you have now drunk. His high and exalted talents are already known in Europe by his works ; but it is those only who have known him personally, and who have enjoyed his conversation, that can form a true estimate of his character. It is not his talents only, although they have excited the admiration of every part of the world, but his virtues, his enlightened and benevolent heart, which raise him as much above others in philanthropy as in natural or acquired attainments.’” *

* “Monthly Repository,” 1826, Vol. xxi., p. 309.

CHAPTER II.

ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND AND RESIDENCE IN LONDON.

THE arrival of the illustrious Hindoo Reformer to our country was anxiously anticipated by all who had become acquainted with him through the various channels which have been laid before the reader. The nature of his labours, and the distance of the scene of them, naturally prevented his being an object of popular enthusiasm;—nor, if that had been excited in his favour, would he have desired the public demonstrations of admiration and respect which were recently accorded to the great Italian patriot. But the reception given to him, though of a widely different kind, must have been no less gratifying to him at the time, and to his countrymen since his departure. The highest honours were publicly accorded to him, and a place was awarded to him among the foreign ambassadors at the coronation of the sovereign; persons the most remarkable for their social standing and literary eminence sought his society, and highly esteemed the privilege of intercourse with him;—he was received into our English homes not only as a distinguished guest, but as a friend;—and when he

was prostrated on the bed of sickness and of death in a foreign land, he was surrounded with the most loving attentions, tended with the most anxious solicitude, and finally laid in the grave surrounded with true mourners, who felt him akin to them in spirit, if not connected with him by the ties of earthly relationship.

At this distance of time, however, when thirty-five years have passed, and swept away so large a portion of the generation then existing, it is extremely difficult to collect memorials of this eventful visit, the first of the kind which had ever been paid to our country. The answers to inquiries on the subject have constantly been that some relative or friend was in frequent and highly interesting communication with the celebrated Brahmin, and could have given abundant information,—but that he is dead! The gentlemen at whose house RAMMOHUN ROY resided in London, and who were on terms of intimate friendship with him, could have afforded the most important information respecting his pursuits there; but they have long since passed away. Those that still remain and had the privilege of knowing him were generally too young at the time to have entered sufficiently fully into his general objects, and therefore cannot throw much light on the manner in which he carried them out. From some of these, however, very interesting reminiscences have been received, narrated with an exactness which shews how deep must have been the impression which they made. From these and from such incidental notices as appeared at the period, especially from the work of the Rev. Dr. CARPENTER already alluded to, our materials must be drawn.

We do not find any record of the few years preceding the arrival of RAMMOHUN ROY in England. We have seen that he had contemplated this visit during a long period, and doubtless had been making preparation for its accomplishment. The lawsuit which he had been carrying on for some time in reference to his caste had doubtless a direct bearing on his projected voyage. We understand, that strictly speaking, the mere circumstance of leaving the country is regarded as involving loss of caste; he was probably anxious to establish that this is not necessarily the case, and succeeded;—he retained his rank, and to the very last he was habitually careful while in our country to avoid every thing that could be construed into an act exposing him to loss of caste, and he was constantly attended upon by a Brahmin, who would of course report infringement of regulations. We have already seen that his motive in this, was not any lingering attachment to the superstitions of his country, or to early associations, but a desire to avoid every thing which might impair his usefulness among his countrymen, or diminish the influence of his teachings.

The immense difficulty of the enterprise at that period is proved by the fact, that we do not hear of any other Hindoo of high caste visiting this country since the death of RAMMOHUN ROY, until, in 1841 or 2, his friend, DWARKANATH TAGORE, came to England; and in 1845 four native Indian Medical Students accompanied hither Dr. HENRY GOODEVE, the founder of the Medical College in Calcutta. About eight years ago a young Brahmin priest, having embraced Christianity, and been baptised, accepted the offer of an American gentleman to provide

him with a free passage to the United States, that he might prepare himself to be a Christian Missionary, and he subsequently came to England. The difficulties he had to encounter to escape, were inconceivable. Nothing but the strongest resolution on his part would have enabled him to elude the efforts to retain him; his Mother even followed him in a boat to endeavour to induce him then to go back. On his return to India five years ago, every effort was made by his family to bring him again within the controul of the Brahmins, and he had recently the sorrow of hearing his Mother, on her dying bed, reproach him as the cause of her disgrace and death, and the misery of the family. It is only at the present time, when a number of courageous young men have determined mutually to support each other in casting off the shackles of superstition and caste, and that a few have pioneered the way, rendering the undertaking practicable and comparatively easy, that such an enterprise has been regarded otherwise than with the greatest dread. It is necessary to remember this, fully to realize the courage of the Hindoo Reformer.

The King of Delhi availed himself of the opportunity afforded by RAMMOHUN ROY'S visit to England to urge certain claims on the British Government, and conferred upon him the title of Rajah, or Prince, by which he was commonly known in this country, RAMMOHUN ROY being the only Indian Prince known among us.*

* The present spelling of this word is Raja, but as RAMMOHUN ROY himself spelt it as in the text, the orthography then used is preserved in this volume.

It was on April 8th, 1831, that the Rajah RAMMOHUN Roy landed in our country, at Liverpool. He was at once invited by WILLIAM RATHBONE, Esq., to take up his residence at the hospitable abode of Greenbank, which has been honoured by the presence of so many illustrious strangers who have there found a home; he preferred however to be independent, and at Radley's Hotel he was visited by many who desired at once to give him a respectful greeting. There are some who still treasure the remembrance of being among his early visitors. One of these, now a grey headed man, recollected when a young midshipman, on arriving at Calcutta, going to visit the magnificent residence and grounds of the Brahmin, who was even then celebrated; it was in the Circular Road, at the eastern extremity of the town. He did not see the master of the mansion, but he picked up in the large aviary a relic in remembrance of the distinguished man, which he still treasures. The Rajah was pleased to meet on his arrival one even in comparatively humble rank, who had visited his country and his own home. Those who had watched with deep interest his religious progress eagerly welcomed him. The brief narrative of a most interesting interview with the celebrated WILLIAM ROSCOE is happily preserved in the Memoir of that eminent man by his son, HENRY ROSCOE.—

"It will be recollected," says the biographer, "that at a very early period of his life Mr. ROSCOE had collected the moral precepts of the New Testament into a small volume, to which he gave the title of 'Christian Morality.'

as contained in the Precepts of the New Testament ; in the Language of Jesus Christ.' In the decline of life this youthful attempt was recalled to his mind by a work of a similar character proceeding from a very unlooked for quarter. This was 'The Precepts of Jesus,' collected, arranged, and published at Calcutta by a learned Brahmin, RAMMOHUN ROY, who, having become a convert to Christianity, endeavoured in this manner to recommend the religion of Christ to his countrymen. The character and history of this extraordinary man excited in the highest degree the interest and the admiration of Mr. ROSCOE. Not only had he emancipated his mind from the dark and cruel superstitions in which he had been educated, but he had cultivated his intellect to a degree which few of the natives of more favoured climes attain. For the purpose of studying the Scriptures he had rendered himself familiar with the Hebrew and the Greek, and had improved his mind by the study of various branches of knowledge. But these were his least merits. The great excellence of his character consisted in his enlarged views with regard to the welfare and improvement of his species, and in the benevolent zeal with which he promoted every project for the extension of education and of useful knowledge amongst the inhabitants of India. Of this zeal he gave a striking proof in the erection of a printing-press at Calcutta, at which his own work, 'The Precepts of Jesus,' and other volumes calculated to extend the influence of Christianity amongst the Hindoos, were printed.

"It is not surprising that with a man of this high and

enlightened character Mr. ROSCOE should be desirous of communicating; and accordingly he took advantage of the opportunity of one of his friends (the late Mr. THOMAS HODGSON FLETCHER of Liverpool) proceeding to India, to transmit to RAMMOHUN ROY a small collection of his works, which he accompanied with the following letter:—

“ Although I have not the honour of being known to you, I am no stranger to your writings, nor to the uniform and noble manner in which you have asserted the cause of true and genuine Christianity, against the sophisms and absurdities of those who would persuade us that they are the only objects of the benevolence of the great Creator and common Father of all His offspring. It seems strange even to myself that so long a time has elapsed, in which I have been aware how nearly my opinions on religious subjects have agreed with your own, without introducing myself to your acquaintance. The fact is, that within the first twenty years of a life which is now verging on its seventy-eighth year, I had devoted myself to the task of forming, as far as possible, a complete code of moral conduct, from the precepts of Jesus Christ as given in the New Testament, in his own words; in which I had made a considerable progress; and although circumstances prevented my completing it, yet the impression which the attempt made on my own mind convinced me, that true Christianity consists alone in doing the will of our Father which is in heaven, which will is not only sufficiently, but most powerfully and beautifully enforced in that sacred volume.

“In my riper years, as the affairs of the world engaged my attention, I have been employed on most of the great subjects of human interest; and have written and published on politics, jurisprudence, history, criticism, science, and literature, according to the measure of my abilities, and with the consciousness, in whatever department I have been engaged, of having promoted, to the best of my power, the improvement and happiness of my fellow-creatures. *

“Some of these works I would even flatter myself may, perhaps, have occurred to your notice; but at all events, that I may not suffer the little that remains to me of this life to pass away without being better known to you, and having at present a favourable opportunity of sending you a few volumes on various subjects that may give you a tolerable idea how I have been employed, I have made up a specimen of my writings, which I have to desire you will accept as the gift of one friend to another; in order that, if they should be received in the same spirit in which they are sent, they may in fact diminish the barrier which Providence has placed between us, and introduce us to the society of each other, to be united, during our future lives, as true and faithful followers of our common Master.

“The opportunity to which I have above alluded is that of a young friend who is about to depart from hence on a voyage to Calcutta, where it is his intention to take up his residence in a mercantile capacity, and who is desirous of an introduction to you, for the freedom of which I must trust myself to your indulgence.

* * * * *

“We have, for some time past, been flattered with hopes of seeing you in this kingdom, but I fear I am not destined to have that pleasure. At all events, it will be a great gratification to me if I should survive the attacks of the paralytic complaint, under which I have now laboured for some years, till I hear that you have received this very sincere mark of the deep respect and attachment which I have so long entertained for you, and which I hope to renew in a happier state of being.

“I am, my dear Sir,

“Your assured friend and fellow-christian, • •

“W. R.

“To the celebrated and learned

RAMMOHUN ROY, Calcutta.” •

“Before this letter could reach its destination Mr. ROSCOE had the unexpected gratification of hearing that the extraordinary person to whom it was addressed was already on his voyage to Europe. This intelligence was quickly followed by his arrival at Liverpool, where his character and striking appearance excited much curiosity and interest. The interview between him and Mr. ROSCOE will never be forgotten by those who witnessed it. After the usual gesture of eastern salutation, and with a mixture of oriental expression, RAMMOHUN ROY said, ‘Happy and proud am I—proud and happy to behold a man whose fame has extended not only over Europe, but over every part of the world.’ ‘I bless God,’ replied Mr. ROSCOE, ‘that I have been permitted to live to see this day.’ Their conversation chiefly turned

upon the objects which had led RAMMOHUN ROY to this country, and in the course of it he displayed an intimate acquaintance with the political and commercial state of England." • •

"The visit of the Rajah to Liverpool was a very short one, from his anxiety to be present at the third reading of the Reform Bill, and at the debates on the subject of India; and on his departure for London he carried with him the following letter from Mr. ROSCOE to Lord BROUGHAM:—

"I have the great honour and very singular pleasure of introducing to your Lordship's kind notice and attention the bearer of this, the celebrated and learned RAMMOHUN ROY, who is just arrived here from Calcutta, and of whom you must already have frequently heard as the illustrious convert from Hindooism to Christianity, and the author of the selections from the New Testament of 'The Precepts of Jesus'; by the publication and diffusion of which amongst the natives of the East reasonable hopes are now entertained, that, in a short time, the shocking system and cruel practices of Paganism will be abolished, and the people of those populous regions be restored to the pure and simple precepts of morality and brotherly love. Amongst the many and important motives which have induced him to leave his country and connections, and visit this island, I understand he is induced to hope he may be of some assistance in promoting the cause of the natives of India in the great debates which must ere long take place here, respecting the Charter of the East India Company; but

I have yet seen so little of him, from his numerous engagements here, that I must leave your Lordship to learn his intentions from himself, which you will find him very capable of explaining in his own strong and appropriate English idiom. One great reason, as I understand, for his haste to leave this for London, is to be present to witness the great measures that will be taken by your Lordship and your illustrious colleagues for promoting the long wished-for reform of his native country. On the present occasion, I will not trouble you further than to request, that, if it should not be inconsistent with your Lordship's station and convenience, you would obtain for our distinguished visitor the benefit of a seat under the gallery in the House of Commons, on the debate on the third reading of the Reform Bill; which favour I am anxious he should owe rather to your Lordship (if you have no objection to it) than to other individuals, to whom, I understand, he has letters of introduction." *

The Rajah had the pleasure of social intercourse in Liverpool both with Mr. and Mrs. Roscoe and with the friends at Greenbank and the Dingle, where he gave the impression which has often been referred to, "of a great man,—of power and grace in his frame,—and the same in his countenance and manner."

On going to London arrangements were made to

* Life of WILLIAM ROSCOE, Vol. II., pp. 413—420.

[The venerable Mr. Roscoe, then in his seventy eighth year, did not long survive this interview, but after a short illness breathed his last on the 30th of June following.]

gratify his wish to be present at a reading of the Reform Bill, in which he took so earnest an interest, but through driving on his arrival to the wrong Hotel he was too late. His views on the subject may be gathered from the following letter to WILLIAM RATHBONE, Esq., which he has kindly given permission to insert :—

“ 48, BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON,

“ *July 31st*, 1832.

“ MY DEAR SIR,—I am *now* happy to find myself fully justified in congratulating you and my other friends at Liverpool on the *complete* success of the Reform Bills, notwithstanding the violent opposition and want of political principle on the part of the aristocrats. The nation can no longer be a prey of the few who used to fill their purses at the expense, nay, to the ruin of the people, for a period of upwards of fifty years. The Ministers have honestly and firmly discharged their duty, and provided the people with means of securing their rights. I hope and pray that the people, the mighty people of England, may now in like manner do theirs, cherishing public spirit and liberal principles, at the same time banishing bribery, corruption and selfish interests, from public proceedings.

“ As I publicly avowed that in the event of the Reform Bill being defeated I would renounce my connection with this country, I refrained from writing to you or any other friend in Liverpool until I knew the result. Thank heaven I can now feel proud of being one of your fellow subjects, and heartily rejoice that I

have had the infinite happiness of witnessing the salvation of the nation, nay of the whole world.

"Pray remember me kindly to Mr. CROPPER and Mr. BENSON, and present my best respects to Mrs. RATHBONE and love to the children; believe me,

"My dear Sir,

"Yours very sincerely,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"P.S.—If the German philosopher is still at Liverpool, be good enough to remember me kindly to him, and inform him that we have succeeded in the reform question without having recourse to the principles of phrenology.

"R. R."

We must now refer to Dr. CARPENTER's "Review" for information respecting his visit to London.

"On the 8th of April, 1831, the Rajah arrived at Liverpool, accompanied by his youngest son, Rajah RAM ROY, and two native servants, one of them a Brahmin; and soon after proceeded to London. He arrived among us at a period when the whole nation was in a state of intense excitement, in connexion with Parliamentary Reform; and being well versed in our national history, and intimately acquainted with our political institutions and parties, he saw at once the bearings of the great measure which, he wrote, would 'in its consequences promote the welfare of England and her dependencies, nay, of the whole world.' Among those consequences, he lived to see a most important series of changes commenced, in the connexion of this country

with his own; in the preparation of which, there is reason to believe, our Government employed, and duly appreciated, the advantages which all would expect might be derived from the presence of a man so eminently qualified for the object by his knowledge, judiciousness, moderation, and patriotism.

"The fame of RAMMOHUN ROY had preceded him; but the official character in which he came, together with the state of public affairs, necessarily brought him forward to public notice even more than might otherwise have been expected. The native Princes of Delhi, conceiving that they had a claim upon the East India Company to a very considerable amount, commissioned RAMMOHUN ROY as their Envoy to represent and urge it; and they gave him, by firman, the title of Rajah. His official relation and title were recognized by the British Government; but the East India Company have never acknowledged either, though they always treated him with great consideration as a highly-distinguished individual. He was, however, presented to his Majesty by the President of the Board of Control; and had a place assigned to him at the Coronation among the Ambassadors. He appears, indeed, to have had no reason for dissatisfaction with our Government, either in his individual or in his official capacity.

"Mr. DAVID HARE, an Englishman of Calcutta, of well-known and great respectability, from his earnest attachment to the Rajah, had urged his brothers in Bedford Square to do every thing in their power for him; and especially to render him those services which

he was sure to need in a land so different from his own, and to protect him from those evils and inconveniences to which his unsuspecting nature and ignorance of our customs might expose him. With great difficulty they at last prevailed upon him, some months after his arrival, to accept a home in their house; and when he went to France, for a few weeks, one of them accompanied him to Paris, where he was more than once at the table of LOUIS PHILIPPE."

"My own opportunities," says Dr. CARPENTER, "of direct communication with this eminent person, while he remained in India, were not frequent. Each had very close engagements and many interruptions of purpose. One of his communications, at least, on which I rested much, was lost. I had no official reason for intruding upon his time; nor had I—it would have been presumptuous if I had had—any desire to attempt to direct his views, except by information as to the state of things among our religious community in Britain. It always seemed to me that his was a mind which, while looking to higher guidance, was to shape its own course; and which must be decided in its choice by the requirements of circumstances over which the residents in this country could have no controul, and of which, indeed, we had no certain knowledge. I was enabled, however, to keep myself in his recollection; and when he arrived in Britain, the first letter which I received from him assured me that I possessed his friendly regard, and that as soon as his public duties permitted, he would visit us. I was his companion in his first attendance

on Unitarian worship in London, and in the evening I conducted him to the crowded meeting of our Association, at which the father of my colleague, Rev. ROBERT ASPLAND, presided; where the enlightened Brahmin was welcomed as a fellow-labourer, and received with every mark of deep and heartfelt respect; and where he himself, though weakened by accident and indisposition, expressed, in simple but correct language—the remembrance of which, and of his appearance, presses vividly on my heart as I commit the thought to writing—his humble appreciation of himself, and his desires to promote whatever appeared to him the cause of truth and duty.”

A full record of this most interesting occasion is happily preserved in the “Monthly Repository” of June, 1831 (Vol. v., N.S., pp. 417—420). The arrival of the “Apostle of the East” had been eagerly anticipated. After the proceedings had commenced, we read:—

“Just at this period the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY made his appearance on the platform, and was greeted with the cordial applause of the meeting.

“The Rev. CHAIRMAN.—Our illustrious friend (for such I trust he will allow me to call him) will permit me to state that his presence creates among us a sensation which he perhaps will hardly understand. It does so, because in his person and example we see an instance of the power of the human mind in recovering itself from the errors of ages; and because we conceive that we see in him, with his intelligence and character, one of the best and most disinterested judges of the claims of Unitarianism to be the original Christian doctrine.

* * * * *

“Dr. BOWRING (now Sir JOHN BOWRING).—I feel it as a very signal honour to have entrusted to my care a resolution, the object

of which is to welcome our illustrious oriental friend, and to communicate all we feel and hope towards him. I ought not to say all we feel and hope, for I am sure that it is impossible to give expression to those sentiments of interest and anticipation with which his advent here is associated in all our minds. I recollect some writers have indulged themselves with inquiring what they should feel if any of those time-honoured men whose names have lived through the vicissitudes of ages, should appear among them. They have endeavoured to imagine what would be their sensations if a Plato or a Socrates, a Milton or a Newton, were unexpectedly to honour them with their presence. I recollect that a poet, who has well been called divine, has drawn a beautiful picture of the feelings of those who first visited the southern hemisphere, and there saw, for the first time, that beautiful constellation, the Golden Cross. It was with feelings such as they underwent that I was overwhelmed when I stretched out in your name the hand of welcome to the Rajah Rammohun Roy. In my mind the effect of distance is very like the effect of time; and he who comes among us from a country thousands of miles off, must be looked upon with the same interest as those illustrious men who lived thousands of years ago. But in the case of our friend, his coming may be deemed an act of heroism of which the European cannot form a just estimate. When Peter the Great went forth to instruct himself in the civilization of the South,—when he left the barbarous honours of his own court to perfect himself in ship-building at Saardam, he presented himself to the public eye in a more illustrious manner than after any of his most glorious victories. But Peter had to overcome no prejudices—he had to break down no embarrassments; for he knew that he had left those who were behind him with an enthusiasm equal to his own, and he knew that he would be received by them, when he should return, with the same display of enthusiasm. Our illustrious friend, however, has made a more severe experiment: he has ventured to accomplish that which perhaps none other connected, as he is, with the highest honours of the Brahminical race ever attempted: he has ventured to do that which would have been regarded with incredulity ten years ago, and which hereafter will crown his name with the highest honour. He will go back to his friends in the East and tell them how interested we are in them, and how delighted we are to

communicate to them through him all our desires to do everything in our power to advance their improvement and felicity. Time would fail me if I were to attempt to go over the history of our illustrious guest,—if I were to tell how eminently and constantly he has exerted himself for the removal of misery and the promotion of happiness. If at this moment Hindoo piles are not burning for the reception of widows, it is owing to his interference, to his exhortations, to his arguments. Can we look on such benefits as these without considering him as our brother? Can he come here without hearing our enthusiastic voices telling him how we have marked his progress, and without our proffering to him, if not our note of triumph, at least our accents of gratitude? It was to us a delightful dream that we might, on some occasion, welcome him here; but though it was a hope, it was but a trembling one, of which we scarcely dared to anticipate the fruition. But its accomplishment has produced recollections so interesting, that this day will be an epoch in our history, and no one will forget the occasion when the Brahmin stood among us to receive our welcome, and the assurance of the interest we take in all he does and in all he shall do; to which I may add that our delight will be too great if we can in any way advance those great plans, the progress of which is the grand object of his exertions. Sir, I move with great pleasure, 'That the members of this Association feel a deep interest in the amelioration of the condition of the natives of British India; that we trust their welfare and improvement will never be lost sight of by the Legislature and Government of our country; that we have especial pleasure in the hope that juster notions and purer forms of religion are gradually advancing amongst them; and that our illustrious visitor from that distant region, the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY, be hereby certified of our sympathy in his arduous and philanthropic labours, of our admiration of his character, of our delight at his presence amongst us, and of our conviction that the magnanimous and beneficent course which he has marked out for himself and hitherto consistently pursued, will entitle him to the blessings of his countrymen and of mankind, as it will assuredly receive those of future generations.'

"Dr. KIRKLAND (late President of Harvard University, United States).—In the absence of the Hon. HENRY WHEATON, who was to have seconded this motion, but is prevented by indisposition, I

have great pleasure in seconding the motion. It is well known that the Rajah is an object of lively interest in America; and he is expected there with the greatest anxiety.

"The Rev. CHAIRMAN.—In proposing this resolution I beg to suggest that the assembly should rise in unanimous approbation of its object.

"The meeting accordingly rose, and carried the resolution by acclamation.

"RAMMOHUN ROY.—I am too unwell and too much exhausted to take any active part in this meeting; but I am much indebted to Dr. KIRKLAND and to Dr. BOWRING for the honour they have conferred on me by calling me their fellow-labourer, and to you for admitting me to this Society as a brother and one of your fellow-labourers. I am not sensible that I have done any thing to deserve being called a promoter of this cause; but with respect to your faith I may observe, that I too believe in the one God, and that I believe in almost all the doctrines that you do: but I do this for my own salvation and for my own peace. For the objects of your Society I must confess that I have done very little to entitle me to your gratitude or such admiration of my conduct. What have I done?—I do not know what I have done!—If I have ever rendered you any services they must be very trifling—very trifling I am sure. I laboured under many disadvantages. In the first instance, the Hindoos and the Brahmins, to whom I am related, are all hostile to the cause; and even many Christians there are more hostile to our common cause than the Hindoos and the Brahmins. I have honour for the appellation of Christian; but they always tried to throw difficulties and obstacles in the way of the principles of Unitarian Christianity. I have found some of these here; but more there. They abhor the notion of simple precepts. They always lay a stress on mystery and mystical points, which serve to delude their followers; and the consequence is, that we meet with such opposition in India that our progress is very slight; and I feel ashamed on my side that I have not made any progress that might have placed me on a footing with my fellow-labourers in this part of the globe. However, if this is the true system of Christianity, it will prevail, notwithstanding all the opposition that may be made to it. Scripture seconds your system of religion, common sense is always on your side; while power and prejudice are on

the side of your opponents. There is a battle going on between reason, scripture, and common sense; and wealth, power, and prejudice. These three have been struggling with the other three; but I am convinced that your success, sooner or later, is certain. I feel over-exhausted, and therefore conclude with an expression of my heartfelt thanks for the honour that from time to time you have conferred on me, and which I shall never forget to the last moment of my existence.

"The CHAIRMAN.—The Rajah will now allow me, as the representative of this assembly, to take him once more by the hand, and to repeat in your name our deep and heartfelt thanks for his presence on this occasion."

The Rev. W. J. Fox made the following beautiful allusion to the Rajah in his speech :

"And when our oriental friend shall return, if return he must, (long be it delayed!) to his native regions, may he have report that Europe is not only as supreme as he esteems it in sciences, arts, and arms, but is beginning to aspire to a supremacy in benevolence which shall annihilate all other supremacies, and even in the end its own, by assimilating and exalting human feeling and human character in all the regions of the world. The Rajah remarked to me the other day, with somewhat of an indignant feeling, that he had been shown a painting of Jesus Christ, and that the painter was false, for he had given him the pale European countenance, not remembering that Jesus Christ was an oriental. The criticism was just. Those theologians have painted falsely too who have portrayed Christianity as a cold and intellectual religion, and not given it that rich oriental colouring of fancy and of feeling with which the Scriptures glow, and by which they possess themselves not only of the mind, but the heart and soul of man. Oh, thus may our religion appear, creating the whole human race anew in the image of the Creator!"

"While in London," says Dr. CARPENTER, "he repeatedly attended the worship of the Unitarians, at their different Chapels in or near the metropolis; and he twice attended their anniversary meetings: but it was his system to avoid so far identifying himself with

any religious body, as to make himself answerable for their acts and opinions; and he also wished to hear preachers of other denominations who had acquired a just celebrity. He appears to have most frequented the Church of the Rev. Dr. KENNEY (St. Olave's, Southwark), who peculiarly interested him by the Christian spirit and influence of his discourses."

Religious sympathy must have been truly refreshing to the spirit of the Hindoo Reformer, after the long persecutions he had endured in his own country; but every thing which related to his personal gratification was always regarded by him as secondary to the welfare of his country.

It cannot be doubted, therefore, that the Rajah's time and labours while in England were specially directed to the accomplishment of the great objects to which he had consecrated his life.

"The promotion of human welfare," says Dr. C., "and especially the improvement of his own countrymen, was the habit of his life. This rested, without a doubt, on the consciousness of power to aid in the great work; and it was influenced by a strong conviction of responsibility for the use of that power. No selfish narrow purposes influenced him; and if he sometimes yielded too much to the kindly dispositions of his nature, and if he always pursued his course with cautious prudence, he ever manifested fortitude and unyielding firmness when any great and benevolent object required exertion, and exposed him to calumny and persecution.

"Such was the course he pursued for abolishing the

horrid and too frequent practice of burning the living widow of a Brahmin with the corpse of her husband. This he laboured in various ways to accomplish ; and in this he had a great and acknowledged influence, which should make him regarded as the friend of his country, of the female sex, and of the human race.

"There is no doubt that it was greatly through his firmness, his enlightened reasonings, and his persevering efforts, that the Government of Bengal at last thought themselves enabled to interdict the immolation of widows. His arguments, and his appeals to ancient authorities held sacred by the Brahmins, enlightened the minds of many of them ; and made the merciful interposition of Lord WM. BENTINCK and his Council, no longer regarded by them, and by persons connected with the East India Company at home, as an interference with the religion of the Hindoos. When the interested and superstitious, as their last effort, appealed against the edict of the Government of India to the King in Council, RAMMOHUN ROY was here to oppose the appeal ; and his unwearied efforts were given in aid of that result which finally annihilated the dreadful sacrifice of the living widow, and filled his heart, and the hearts of number of his countrymen, with joy and gratitude."

To enable us to comprehend the immense difficulties which the Reformer had to contend with in effecting this great object, it will be well here to refer to his previous writings on the subject.

"The conferences," says Dr. C., "between an advocate for, and an opponent of, the practice of burning widows

alive, of which a translation is subjoined to the Veds, give us an opportunity of observing, not only the tenaciousness with which the superstitious Brahmins clung to this horrid sacrifice, and the grounds on which it was defended, but also the acuteness of the Reformer's mind, and the logical adroitness with which he reasoned from common admissions : still more, they display his views of the character and circumstances of the female sex, the diffusion of which in Hindoostan must tend to elevate them to their due rank in society.

“The faults which you have imputed to women,” wrote the Rajah, ‘are not planted in their constitution by nature ; it would be, therefore, grossly criminal to condemn that sex to death merely from precaution. By ascribing to them all sorts of improper conduct, you have indeed successfully persuaded the Hindoo community to look down upon them as contemptible and mischievous creatures, whence they have been subjected to constant miseries. I have, therefore, to offer a few remarks on this head.

“Women are in general inferior to men in bodily strength and energy ; consequently the male part of the community, taking advantage of their corporeal weakness, have denied to them those excellent merits that they are entitled to by nature, and afterwards they are apt to say that women are naturally incapable of acquiring those merits. But if we give the subject consideration, we may easily ascertain whether or not your accusation against them is consistent with justice. As to their inferiority in point of understanding, when did

you ever afford them a fair opportunity of exhibiting their natural capacity? How then can you accuse them of want of understanding? If, after instruction in knowledge and wisdom, a person cannot comprehend or retain what has been taught him, we may consider him as deficient; but as you keep women generally void of education and acquirements, you cannot, therefore, in justice pronounce on their inferiority. On the contrary, Leclavuttee, Bhanoomuttee (the wife of the prince of Kurnat), and that of Kalidas, are celebrated for their thorough knowledge of all the Shastras: moreover in the Vrihadaranyuk Opunished of the Ujoor Ved it is clearly stated, that Yagnyvalkyu imparted divine knowledge of the most difficult nature to his wife Maitreyee, who was able to follow and completely attain it!

“Secondly. You charge them with want of resolution, at which I feel exceedingly surprised: for we constantly perceive, in a country where the name of death makes the male shudder, that the female, from her firmness of mind, offers to burn with the corpse of her deceased husband; and yet you accuse those women of deficiency in point of resolution.”—*Transl.*, pp. 251, 252.

“The Hindoo Sage then proceeds to defend the female sex (3dly) in reference to trustworthiness, and (4thly) to the subjection of the passions, in comparison with men; and in the close of the discussion he gives a picture of the degradation to which the women of Hindoostan are exposed.”

The description which RAMMOHUN ROY here gives of the degradation of women in India, and the extreme

cruelties practised towards them, we will not copy, hoping that they are now matters of history only. Then, we learn from him,—

“These are facts occurring every day, and not to be denied. What I lament is, that, seeing the women thus dependent and exposed to every misery, you feel for them no compassion that might exempt them from being tied down and burnt to death.”—*Transl.* pp. 253—255.

“This horrid practice he speaks of repeatedly as murder, whenever any force was employed; and all engaged in it as then guilty of murder. It is easy to see what malignant hatred such expressions were likely to excite.

“In the ‘Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females, according to the Hindoo Law of Inheritance,’ 1822, subjoined to the Translations, RAMMOHUN ROY delineates (p. 270), ‘the interest and care which their ancient Legislators took in the promotion of the comfort of the female part of the community,’ and shows the extreme evils that the Hindoo women incurred by the changes which afterwards took place in the law of inheritance. In the course of this statement he says (pp. 274, 275), ‘It is not from religious prejudices and early impressions only that Hindoo widows burn themselves on the piles of their deceased husbands, but also from their witnessing the distress in which widows of the same rank in life are involved, and the insults and slights to which they are daily subjected, that they become in a great measure regardless of existence after the death of their husbands; and

this indifference, accompanied with the hope of future reward held out to them, leads them to the horrible act of suicide. These restraints on female inheritance encourage, in a great degree, polygyny, a frequent source of the greatest misery in native families."

"His labours for his country," continues Dr. CARPENTER, "had, however, a much wider scope. He took an intense interest in whatever contributed, or appeared to him likely to contribute, to its welfare; and his communications to our Legislature shew with what closeness of observation, soundness of judgment, and comprehensiveness of views, he had considered the various circumstances which interfered with its improvement, or which, on the other hand, tended to promote it. They shew him to be at once the philosopher and the patriot. They are full of practical wisdom; and there is reason to believe that they were highly valued by our Government, and that they aided in the formation of the new system, by which the well-being of our vast dependencies in India must be so greatly affected for good or for ill;—a system which it requires little acquaintance with the causes of the welfare of nations to perceive, must, after the transition is fully made, essentially promote all the sources of prosperity to that immense population whom our nation is bound by every consideration of justice, as well as of philanthropy and wise policy, to raise and enlighten. Long, however, before the means were presented to him of thus publicly aiding in the political amelioration of his country, he was promoting by example and coöperation,

and by the decided expression of his convictions, that means of improvement which is essential to the permanent efficacy of all others, and from which the greatest benefits may be expected in relation to social welfare, and to the reception of the Gospel—the judicious education of the young. He saw that the communication of the knowledge contained in our language, and the training to our modes of thought and reasoning, was the only sure and general way ‘of improving the understandings of his countrymen, and of ultimately ameliorating their hearts’; and with the assistance of two or three friends, he himself supported a school for this purpose from about the year 1822, in which sixty Hindoo children receive instruction.”

The spirit and object of the Rajah's work while in London, are thus eloquently delineated by the Rev. W. J. Fox in his discourse on the death of the Hindoo Reformer :—

“The benefits which, besides that great testimony which it was the business of his life to bear, he achieved or contemplated, for his native country, have this beautiful quality of all pure and good ends realized by pure and good means, that however local and temporary the immediate advantages, they expand themselves into the universal and enduring, and a blessing on any spot of earth tends to become a benediction on the great globe itself. The Hindoo patriot and reformer was, by the purity with which he sustained those characters, a benefactor to mankind. The good which he attempted for his countrymen is reflected and re-acts upon us. In

leading them back, as he endeavoured by numerous publications, through the superstitions and corruptions of ages, to the primeval simplicity of their religion, does he not show us, and may we not profit by the lesson, that a pure theism, the original religion of mankind, is the true basis of all religion? In endeavouring to improve the manners and condition, the laws and institutions of that numerous people, was he not working good for us, who have injured ourselves, in so far as we have despised them, or been accessory to their oppression and debasement? The tyrant and the corruptor must themselves feed at last on the fruits of corruption and tyranny; while upon those who enlighten and emancipate, their own blessing returns in light and freedom.

"In the establishment of native schools, for providing the advantages of English education, which he supported at considerable expense,—in his connexion with the Indian Press,—and his able and honourable exertions to prolong its existence, by obtaining for it some degree of freedom, he was coöperating with those who in this or any country strive after the enlightenment of the human mind as the most efficient means of advancing to the possession of political freedom and of social happiness.

"In his work on the right of Hindoos to dispose of their ancestral property, and in other legal arguments, he struggled against decisions in the courts of Bengal, which he regarded as a departure from the best and highest Hindoo authorities; and which, as they tended to establish in that country the European principle or custom

of primogeniture, could not but be offensive to his acute mind which so distinctly saw, and his benevolent heart which so strongly deprecated, its pernicious operation. Property, like superstition, may perpetuate a distinction of caste. This is one of the evils which make the worship of mammon not less degrading and pernicious to society than other idolatries.

“The noble exertions of RAMMÔHUN ROY to stop the prevalent atrocity of sacrificing widows on the funeral pile, no doubt contributed to the abolition of that practice. His struggle with the interests of the Brahmins and the prejudices of society would not have been so long, had the British authorities more decidedly and promptly espoused the claims of humanity. In one of his tracts on this subject, there is a noble and eloquent passage, in which, from reprobating the particular instance of oppression of the female sex, he rises to the advocacy of such amelioration of their education and condition as would give the amplest scope and highest direction to their influence on the mind, the morals, and the happiness of the whole human race. And thus, also, his desire to visit Europe and America, had its source in that pure patriotism which not merely agrees with, but is philanthropy. He had long wished to observe society under the influence of liberal institutions. He wished the sea to become the same broad highway for his countrymen that it is for the merchants, the travellers, and the literati of free and civilized nations. He wished, in the spirit of that Gospel which destroyed the partition wall betwixt Jew and Gentile, to break the barriers

• which divide the Eastern and the Western world. He had other and more immediate purposes. It was his hope that he might benefit his countrymen by his presence, and, if opportunity favoured, his interference, during the discussions which were about to take place on the renewal of the East India Company's Charter. An appeal had also been made to the King in Council, by the idolatrous Brahmins and their partizans, against the decree of the local authorities for the abolition of Suttees. And the Emperor of Delhi had constituted him his representative, with the title of Rajah, for the purpose of procuring reparation of certain encroachments on his rights by the East India Company. These purposes are all happily accomplished. His evidence on Indian affairs, which no doubt had its weight with the legislature, is before the public. He was present when the Privy Council gave its final decision against the Brahminical application for the renewal of the Suttee atrocities; and his negotiations on behalf of the Emperor of Delhi were conducted to a satisfactory and honourable termination. During his residence here he was the deeply-interested spectator of the most important struggle for popular right which has taken place in this country. And, in social intercourse, he endeared himself to natives of many countries, and to persons of all parties, ranks, and ages; attracting a regard which no celebrity could have conciliated, but which flowed spontaneously towards that goodness which was in him the soul of greatness."

His visit to England was at a period peculiarly im-

portant. In 1831, 1832, a Committee of the House of Commons was sitting on the affairs of India, and in 1833 a Bill on that subject was introduced into Parliament. Hence his time and thoughts were continually occupied with the proceedings of the Government, and affording information and advice whenever they were required. Every thing else was made subservient to this great object. Frequently was the noble form of the illustrious stranger seen within the precincts of our Houses of Parliament, as those still remember who were there thirty-five years ago.

In the Appendix to the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs in 1831, 1832, are papers by RAMMOHUN ROY, communicated by the Board of Control. These papers occupy seventeen folio pages full of interesting and important observations. The queries are searching and comprehensive, and respect the position of the Government relating to the farmer and land cultivators,—the judicial system,—and the policy of the Government in reference to the promotion of natives. The opinions of such a man, who could regard the question at the same time with the patriotic feeling of a native of India, with the philosophic and enlarged mind of a sage and a religious man, and with a full knowledge and appreciation of the views and objects of the British Government, must deserve to be fully known and considered. We cannot here do more, however, than mention where this evidence is to be found, and give a few extracts from it :—

“ In the Appendix to the Report from the Select

• Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, published in 1831, Vol. v., pp. 716—741, several papers are contained which were written by RAMMOHUN ROY.

“1. Revenue System of India,—pp. 716—723. Copy of communication between RAMMOHUN ROY and the Board of Control relative to the Revenue and Judicial System of India.—54 questions proposed to RAMMOHUN ROY, and his answers, dated 19th August, 1831. Subjects: Revenue System of India, Tenure of Land, Rate of Rent, Title to Land, Improvement of the State of the Cultivators and Inhabitants at large.”

“2. Pages 723—726, Appendix A. Paper on the Revenue System of India, by RAMMOHUN ROY, dated London, August 19th, 1831.

“RAMMOHUN ROY concludes this paper (p. 726) ‘with beseeching any and every authority to devise some mode of alleviating the present miseries of the agricultural peasantry of India, and thus discharge their duty to their fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects.’”

“3. Questions and Answers on the Judicial System of India, pp. 726—739.—78 questions and answers, dated Sept. 19th, 1831.

“In pp. 729, 730, is the following answer of RAMMOHUN ROY to question 30,—‘Can you suggest any mode of removing the several defects you have pointed out in the judicial system?’

“Answer of RAMMOHUN ROY.—‘As European Judges in India are not generally expected to discharge judicial duties satisfactorily, independent of native assistance,

from not possessing a thorough knowledge of the languages, manners, customs, habits, and practices of the people, and as the natives who possess this knowledge have long been accustomed to subordination and indifferent treatment, and, consequently, have not the power of commanding respect from others, unless joined by Europeans, the only remedy which exists is to combine the knowledge and experience of the native with the dignity and firmness of the European.

“This principle has been virtually acted upon and reduced to practice since 1793, though in an imperfect manner, in the constitution of Courts of Circuit, in which the Mufti (native assessor) has a voice with the Judge in the decision of every cause, having a seat with him on the Bench.

“This arrangement has tolerably well answered the purposes of government, which has not been able to devise a better system in a matter of such importance as the decision of questions of life and death during the space of 40 years, though it has been continually altering the systems in other branches.

“It is my humble opinion, therefore, that the appointment of such native assessors should be reduced to a regular system in the Civil Courts. They should be appointed by Government for life, at the recommendation of the Sudder Dewanee Adawlat,* which should select them carefully, with a view to their character and

* This court is now amalgamated with Her Majesty's Supreme Court of Calcutta, and is called the High Court of Judicature in Bengal.

qualifications, and allow them to hold their situations during life and good behaviour, on a salary of from 300 to 400 rupees per mensem. They should be responsible to the Government as well as to the public for their decisions, in the same manner as the European Judges, and correspond directly with the Judicial Secretary. A casting voice should be allowed to the European Judge in appointing the native officers, in case of difference of opinion; the native assessor, however, having the right to record his dissent. These assessors should be selected out of those natives who have been already employed for a period of not less than five years as assessors (multis), lawyers (zillah court maulavis), or as the head native officers in the judicial department'." *

"4. Additional queries respecting the condition of India, pp. 739—741.—13 queries and answers, dated London, Sept. 28th, 1831.

"In Vol. v., 1831, p. 741, in his answer to one of these additional queries, RAMMOHUN ROY thus describes the intelligent native Indians:—'Men of aspiring character, and members of such ancient families as are very much reduced by the present system, consider it derogatory to accept of the trifling public situations which natives are allowed to hold under the British Government, and are decidedly disaffected to it. Many of those, however, who engage prosperously in commerce, and of those who are secured in the peaceful possession

* The native judicial officers are generally versed in Persian, and, therefore, the proceedings hitherto generally held in that language would be familiar to them.

of their estates by the permanent settlement, and such as have sufficient intelligence to foresee the probability of future improvement which presents itself under the British rule, are not only reconciled to it, but really view it as a blessing to the country.

“But I have no hesitation in stating, with reference to the general feeling of the more intelligent part of the native community, that the only course of policy which can ensure their attachment to any form of government would be that of making them eligible to gradual promotion, according to their respective abilities and merits, to situations of trust and respectability in the State.”—RAMMOHUN ROY, London, Sept. 28, 1831.”

“In Vol. VIII., 1831-2, in the General Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, Section v., pp. 341—343.—Remarks by RAMMOHUN ROY are given on the settlement of Europeans in India, dated 14th July, 1832.

“In p. 348, the following extract is given in this Appendix from a speech by RAMMOHUN ROY, who is described as an illustrious native, ‘On the advantages of intercourse between the natives of India and European gentlemen’ :—‘From personal experience I am impressed with this conviction, that the greater our intercourse with European gentlemen, the greater will be our improvement in literary, social, and political affairs; a fact which can easily be proved by comparing the condition of those of my countrymen who have enjoyed this advantage, with that of those who have unfortunately

‘not had that opportunity.’ The speech had been delivered at a public meeting of the native inhabitants of Calcutta.”

“The evidence of RAMMOHUN ROY, in 1831, is referred to in the Appendix to the Report of 1833, p. 366, respecting the condition of the ryots in India.”

“A side note for reference, p. 366, opposite to this mention of RAMMOHUN ROY, has these words, ‘Evidence before Committee of 1831. Evidence before this Committee, A to G, 35, p. 5, min.,’ which seems to shew that the Rajah had been examined before a Committee of the House of Commons.”

The literary labours of the Rajah were continued even in the midst of his political action, and the objects of interest in our great metropolis which are usually so engrossing to a stranger. We find these announcements in the “Christian Reformer” for February, 1832, Vol. XVIII., p. 95 :—

“The following publications are announced from the pen of Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY : ‘An Essay on the Rights of Hindoos over Ancestral Property, according to the Law of Bengal, with an Appendix, containing Letters on the Hindoo Law of Inheritance’; and ‘Remarks on East India Affairs; comprising the Evidence to the Committee of the House of Commons on the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India, with a Dissertation on its Ancient Boundaries; also, Suggestions for the Future Government of the Country, illustrated by a Map, and farther enriched with Notes.”

In June of the same year, p. 287, we find :—

"The Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY has published his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed with a view to the question of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, in an 8vo. volume entitled 'Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India.' There is little interesting to the general reader in this work, though it will, we doubt not, have some weight with the legislature in the forthcoming discussion of the Company's Charter. We are pleased to find the following announcement at the close of some 'Preliminary Remarks:' the Rajah had just stated that he sailed from Calcutta, Nov. 19, 1830, and arrived in England, April 8, 1831—"The particulars of my voyage and travels will be found in a journal which I intend to publish, together with whatever has appeared to me most worthy of remark and record in regard to the intelligence, riches and power, manners, customs, and especially the female virtue and excellence existing in this country'."

In the "Monthly Repository" for September, of the same year (N.S., Vol. vi., p. 609), occurs a review of the two following works:—

"1. Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India. By Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1832.

"2. Translation of several principal books, passages and texts of the Veds, and of some controversial works on Brahmical Theology. By the same. London: Parbury, Allen and Co., 1832."

• The following are extracts from the review :—

"It is by a remarkable sequence of circumstances that a native of this region, fully informed respecting the capabilities and the woes of its people, has been brought into the presence of the authorities with whom it rests to correct Indian abuses. No less remarkable are his qualifications to give evidence, to make it understood by all the parties concerned, and to offer it in a form which may conciliate prejudices. The method and coolness with which the Rajah arranges and states his facts, in contrast with the rousing nature of those facts, are as remarkable as anything in the whole affair; and the courtesy with which he accounts, where he can, for the rise and growth of abuses, will not impede, but hasten the rectification of those abuses. The Rajah appreciates too well the nature and operation of free institutions, not to have felt many a throb of indignation, many a pang of grief, when witnessing the oppressed condition of the ryots of his country, and the various kinds and degrees of guilt among his countrymen, which have been originated by British misgovernment; but when the cause can best be served by a plain statement of facts, he can adduce them with all the calmness of a mere observer. That which it makes our spirits sink to read, he states unaccompanied by reproach or entreaty. Suggestions on which we would stake our lives, and which we should be apt to thrust in the face of friend and foe, he offers in their due connection, and with a moderation most likely to ensure them a hearing * * * * *

"We will not say that other such friends as the author of the work before us may arise throughout India; for the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY is a man of a thousand years; but many of his countrymen may soon follow his lead in investigating the sources of Indian grievances, and candidly referring them to their real origin; in appreciating whatever is valuable in us as a nation; in learning from us where we are qualified to teach; and in offering us the noblest lesson of forbearance wherever repentance would beseeem us better than triumph. If one Hindoo, under whatever circumstances, has magnanimously honoured us with his respect and friendship, why should not all his nation enter in time into our fellowship? The brotherly intercourse has begun between the most enlightened; let it go on among those who have a mutual

interest, whether it be of a mere temporal or of a higher character, and it will in time include all who were not, whatever they may now think, born enemies, and who may therefore live to be friends.

“ Since the foregoing remarks were written, we have received the other volume, the title of which is given at the commencement. It contains a reprint of thirteen publications, of which the first six are translations from the Veds, tending to prove the unity of the Supreme Being; the next three are controversial, occasioned by the publication of the former; three more relating to the burning of widows; and the last, which has the same humane object, is on the ancient rights of females according to the Hindoo law of inheritance. The fact that Suttees are now abolished will not diminish the interest with which our readers will contemplate these philanthropic efforts. There can be no doubt of their having contributed largely to that result. ‘The Rajah was present at, and must have enjoyed with a pure triumph, the failure of the attempt to induce the Privy Council to rescind the order of the Governor-General. Some of the theological tracts are not wholly unknown in this country, though no reprint or complete collection of them has before appeared. A singularly blessed lot is that of this extraordinary man in that, besides being an efficient agent in a great work of philanthropy, and contributing towards a political and commercial reform, he has laboured, and that not unsuccessfully, for the restoration of two religions from a corrupt state to one of simplicity and purity, first showing the Divine unity to have been the primeval doctrine of Hindooism, and since, of the Gospel. In both cases it is interesting to mark the spirituality and benevolence of his mind, its superiority to the common tone of controversy, and its direction to the glory of God in the good of man.”

It is to be regretted that works which must have contained information so valuable and views so important should be at present but little known. We may hope that they will not be allowed to remain much longer in obscurity, but will be collected and republished.

• Having thus considered the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY during his residence in London in his religious, political and literary aspect, we may now observe him in his social relations.

We frequently remark in great reformers, and those who have been obliged, in the execution of important works, for their fellow creatures, to tax their energies to the utmost, a deficiency in the more delicate and graceful parts of the character. The contrary was the case in the Hindoo patriot and reformer. The extraordinary courteousness and suavity of his general demeanour, and his habitual care to avoid giving unnecessary pain, would have made those who enjoyed his society think of him only as a most delightful and intellectual companion, did not some observation incidentally reveal what were the ever present subjects of his thoughts. To this those can testify who have the privilege of recollecting him personally.

How much the Hindoo Reformer attracted the attention of society, and won the respect of the intellectual portion of it, is shown by the following extracts from Miss LUCY AIKIN's letters to Dr. CHANNING (*Memoirs, Miscellanies and Letters, of the late LUCY AIKIN.* London: Longman). The first is from a letter to Dr. CHANNING, dated Hampstead, June 28, 1831:—

“In the intervals of politics we talk of the Christian Brahmin, RAMMOHUN ROY. All accounts agree in representing him as a person of extraordinary merit. With very great intelligence and ability, he unites a modesty and simplicity which win all hearts. He has a very

great command of the language, and seems perfectly well versed in the political state of Europe, and an ardent well-wisher to the cause of freedom and improvement everywhere. To his faith he has been more than a martyr. On his conversion to Christianity his mother cursed him, and his wife (or wives) and children all forsook him. He had grievous oppressions to endure from the Church party on turning Unitarian. This was at Calcutta; here it is determined to court him. Two bishops have noticed him, and the East India Company show him all civilities. But his heart is with his brethren in opinion, with whom chiefly he spends his time. I hear of him, this remarkable saying,—that the three countries in Europe which appear even less prepared than Asia for a liberal system of religion, are Spain, Portugal and England."

The next is dated Hampstead, Sept. 6th, 1831:—

"Just now my feelings are more cosmopolite than usual; I take a personal concern in a *third* quarter of the globe, since I have seen the excellent RAMMOHUN ROY. I rejoice in the hope that you will see him some time, as he speaks of visiting your country, and to know you would be one of his first objects. He is indeed a glorious being,—a true sage, as it appears, with the genuine humility of the character, and with more fervour, more sensibility, a more engaging tenderness of heart than any *class* of character can justly claim. He came to my house, at the suggestion of Dr. BOOTH, who accompanied him partly for the purpose of meeting Mrs. JOANNA BAILLIE, and discussing with her the Arian tenets of her book. He mentions the Sanscrit as the

mother language of the Greek, and said that the expressions of the New Testament most perplexing to an European, were familiar to an Oriental acquainted with this language and its derivations, and that to such a person the texts which are thought to support the doctrine for the præexistence, bear quite another sense. She was a little alarmed at the erudition of her antagonist, and slipped out at last by telling him that his interpretations were too subtle for an unlearned person like herself. We then got him upon subjects more interesting to me—Hindoo laws, especially those affecting women. He spoke of polygamy as a crime, said it was punishable by their law, except for certain causes, by a great fine; but the Mussulmans did not enforce the fine, and their example had corrupted Hindoos; they were cruel to women, the Hindoos were forbidden all cruelty. Speaking of the abolition of widow-burning by Lord W. BENTINCK, he fervently exclaimed, 'May God load him with blessings!' His feeling for women in general, still more than the admiration he expressed of the mental accomplishments of English ladies, won our hearts. He mentioned his own mother, and in terms which convinced us of the falsehood of the shocking tale that she burned herself for his apostacy. It is his business here to ask two boons for his countrymen—trial by jury, and freedom for British capitalists to colonise amongst them. Should he fail in obtaining these, he speaks of ending his days in America."

Miss AIKIN again refers to the Rajah, as follows, in a letter dated Oct. 15th, 1832:—

"I wonder whether you have seen a small book

published by RAMMOHUN ROY containing translations of several of the Hindoo Veds? I have found a good deal of interest in this view of theology and metaphysics of a nation so remote in every respect from us and our ways of thinking. The great point which the true friend of his country and his race has had in view in his various controversies with his own countrymen, has been to show that, although some idolatrous rites are sanctioned by their sacred books, yet it has always been the doctrine of the most authentic of these, that the highest future happiness was only attainable by a pure and austere life, and the worship of the invisible, universal Spirit—that idolatry was for the gross and ignorant, rites and observances for them only. Thus he shows that eternal felicity—that is, absorption into the supreme spirit, is promised to women who after the death of their husbands lead devout and holy lives; and only a poor lease of thirty-five millions of years of happiness with their husbands to such as burn with them, after the expiration of which their souls are to transmigrate into different animals. This you will say is mighty puerile, but it is at least meeting his antagonists on their own ground. Afterwards he details the many cruelties and oppressions to which females in his country are subjected by the injustice and barbarity of the stronger sex, and pleads for pity towards them with such powerful, heartfelt eloquence as no woman, I think, can peruse without tears and fervent invocations of blessings on his head. The Rajah is now at Paris, where I doubt if he will find much gratification, as he is

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not well versed in the French language ; he will return to us, however, soon after the meeting of parliament. I dread the effects of another English winter on his constitution ; and yet it almost seems as if a life like his must be under the peculiar guardianship of Providence."

The Rajah alludes to his visit to France in the following interesting letters, addressed to Mrs. WOODFORD, of Brighton, and her late husband, which have been kindly furnished by her :—

"JANUARY 31ST, 1833.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I had on the 27th the pleasure of receiving you obliging communication, and beg to offer you and Mrs. W. my best thanks for this mark of attention towards me. I rejoice to observe that the translation of the Veds, &c., which I presented to Mrs. W. before my departure for the continent of Europe, has proved interesting to her and to yourself. I am now confirmed in the opinion, that her good sense and her *rational* devotion to religion will not induce her to reject any reasonable sentiments on the ground that they are not found in this book, or in that volume.

"I was detained in France too late to proceed to Italy last year ; besides, without a knowledge of French, I found myself totally unable to carry on communication with foreigners, with any degree of facility. Hence I thought I would not avail myself of my travels through Italy and Austria to my own satisfaction. I have been studying French with a French gentleman, who accompanied me to London, and now is living with me.

"I shall be most happy to receive your nephew, Mr. KINGLAKE; as I doubt not his company and conversation as your relative, and a firm friend of liberal principles, will be a source of delight to me. I thank you for the mention you made of Sir HENRY STRACHEY. His talents, acquirements and manners, have rendered his name valuable to those who know him and can appreciate his merits. To the best of my belief and recollection, I declare that I do not know a native of Persia or India who could repeat Persian, with greater accuracy than this British-born gentleman.

"RAMMOHUN ROY."

"48, BEDFORD SQUARE,

"April 27th, 1832.

"MY DEAR MADAM,—I now have the pleasure of begging your acceptance of the accompanying copy of my remarks on India, and of another copy of a pamphlet on the abolition of the practice of burning Hindoo widows alive. You will, I am sure, be highly gratified to learn that the present Governor-General of India has sufficient moral courage to afford them protection against their selfish relations, who cruelly used to take advantage of their tender feelings in the name and under the cloak of religion. It must have afforded Mr. WOODFORD and yourself much gratification to learn by the first conveyance the division on the second reading of the Reform Bill. The struggles are not merely between the reformers and anti-reformers, but between

liberty and tyranny throughout the world; between justice and injustice, and between right and wrong. But from a reflection on the past events of history, we clearly perceive that liberal principles in politics and religion have been long gradually, but steadily, gaining ground, notwithstanding the opposition and obstinacy of despots and bigots. I am still unable to determine the period of my departure from London, and my visits to you in the country. I may perhaps do myself that pleasure.

“RAMMOHUN RÔY.”

“48, BEDFORD SQUARE,

“August 22nd, 1833.

“MY DEAR SIR,—I was glad to hear from Mr. CAREY some time ago that you and Mrs. W. were in good health when he saw you last; and Sir HENRY STRACHEY, whom I had the pleasure of seeing about three weeks ago, has confirmed the same information. He is indeed an extraordinary man; and I feel delighted whenever I have an opportunity of conversing with that philosopher. I have been rather poorly for some days past; I am now getting better, and entertain a hope of proceeding to the country in a few days, when I will endeavour to pay you a visit in Taunton. The reformed Parliament has disappointed the people of England; the ministers may perhaps redeem their pledge during next session. The failure of several mercantile houses in Calcutta has produced much distrust both in India and England.

The news from Portugal is highly gratifying, though another struggle is still expected. I hope you will oblige me by presenting to Mrs. W., with my best respects, the accompanying copy of a translation, giving an account of the system of religion which prevailed in Central India at the time of the invasion of that country by Alexander the Great.

“RAMMOHUN RÖY.”

Many interesting anecdotes might have been collected soon after the Rajah's death illustrating his character in social intercourse, but at this distance of time only a few can be gleaned. The first is from the pen of Mr. Recorder HILL :—

“I only met the Rajah RAMMOHUN RÖY once in my life. It was at a dinner party given by Dr. ARNOTT. One of the guests was ROBERT OWEN, who evinced a strong desire to bring over the Rajah to his socialistic opinions. He persevered with great earnestness ; but the Rajah, who seemed well acquainted with the subject, and who spoke our language in marvellous perfection, answered his arguments with consummate skill, until ROBERT somewhat lost his temper, a very rare occurrence which I never witnessed before. The defeat of the kind-hearted philanthropist was accomplished with great suavity on the part of his opponent.”

The next is from an estimable lady who had the privilege of his acquaintance, and who was herself called from this world but a few weeks after she had penned the following note :—

“ Few things could give me more pleasure than to assist you (in my humble way) in doing honour to our venerated friend Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY, but I am so miserably enfeebled by illness as to be incapable of looking over books and papers in research. I can, however, trust my memory for a little anecdote, to which yours will readily supply his courteous graceful manner.

“ At a small evening party at my house in Grenville Street, principally to meet the Rajah, he referred to the doctrine of original sin in a way that startled a lady of the low church, a very charming and amiable woman, who had brought her daughter. ‘ But surely, Sir,’ she exclaimed, ‘ you do believe in original sin ?’ He looked at her, and she blushed deeply. After a minute, he seemed to comprehend the whole, and very gently inclining he said, ‘ I believe it is a doctrine which in many well-regulated minds has tended to promote humility, the first of Christian virtues ; for my own part, I have never been able to see the evidence of it.’

“ The next morning my sweet friend called to apologise for what she had said, and added that she had never seen or heard any thing so beautiful as this in society.”

During this residence in London, the Rajah placed his son under the care of the late Rev. D. DAVISON, M.A., and frequently communicated with that gentleman respecting the progress of the youth. He won the high esteem of the family by his most kind and courteous manners. His kindly sympathy was manifested by his being present at the christening of an infant born at

that period, and bestowing on him his own name, "Rammohun Roy." In this child he took a warm interest:—

"His visits to me," writes Mrs. DAVISON, "were generally paid to me in my *nursery*, as he insisted on coming up, so as to visit his *namesake* at the same time and not to interrupt me. For surely never was there a man of so much modesty and humility! I used to feel quite ashamed of the reverential manner in which he behaved to me. Had I been our Queen I could not have been approached and taken leave of with more respect. I was greatly struck with one thing which occurred. He called, and as he could not see me nor the boy for a little while, he waited, saying 'He would like to see the child once more.' This was just before leaving town for Miss CASTLE's, where he died."

Very shortly after the arrival of the Rajah in England, it was arranged that when he paid his visit to Bristol he should be the guest of Miss KIDDELL and Miss CASTLE, at Stapleton Grove, an agreeable residence in the immediate vicinity. The latter of these was a young heiress,—the ward of Dr. CARPENTER,—the former her maternal aunt and also her guardian. These ladies were introduced to the Rajah by Dr. C. in London, and the following letters respecting his intended visit, excepting the first, were addressed to them. Though they may not contain anything which adds to our knowledge of the Rajah's views, yet they give so pleasing a picture of the social and domestic side of his character, and have in them so many characteristic and incidental touches, that we will present them all to the reader:—

"125, REGENT STREET, LONDON,

"*May 10th*, 1831.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am now sufficiently recovered to answer your letter of the 28th ultimo. It will afford me much pleasure to spend some time in your city, of which from your and other accounts I have formed a very favourable opinion. I cannot but enjoy a high gratification in passing much of my time while there, in the house of so warm a friend as yourself, for whose proffered hospitality I cannot return sufficient acknowledgments. I fear, however, that were I to take up my entire residence under your hospitable roof, it would occasion you too much inconvenience. As I may be accompanied by a European friend and some servants, I will lodge at some hotel in your immediate neighbourhood; by which I shall be enabled to frequent your house nearly as much as if I resided in it, as well as benefit myself to the company of the Rev. Dr. CARPENTER, to whom I beg you will present my respects; and be good enough to inform him that two days ago I answered his kind communication.

"I remain, with gratitude,

"Yours most obediently,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"J. B. ESTLIN, Esq., Bristol."

"48, BEDFORD SQUARE,

"*March 31st*, 1832.

"MADAM,—I had lately the pleasure of seeing the Rev. Dr. CARPENTER, and hearing from that truly venerable

Rajah Rammohun Roy presents
his compliments to Miss Carpenter
& in reply to her note, he has
only to say that he will be very
happy to see Miss Carpenter
on Monday next between
the hours of 2 & 4; - having been
engaged to a friend before
2 o'clock that morning. He is
happy to observe from the communi-
cations of his sons & his friends at
Bristol that Dr Carpenter
is perfectly well & has been
discharging his duty as a faithful
minister of Christ with his
usual zeal & piety
July 27th 1833.

minister that Miss CASTLE and yourself were perfectly well, and deeply interested in the cause of reform, on the success of which the welfare of England, nay of the whole world depends. I should have long ere this visited Bristol and done myself the honour of paying you my long-promised visit, but I have been impatiently waiting in London to know the result of the Bill. I feel very much obliged by your kind offers of attention to my comforts while I am in that part of the country, of which I hope to be able to avail myself as soon as my mind is relieved on this subject. You will oblige me by remembering me kindly to the Rev. gentleman, and presenting my best compliments to Miss CASTLE.

“ I have the honour to be, Madam,

“ Your most obedient Servant,

“ RAMMOHUN ROY.

“ Miss KIDDELL,

“ Stapleton Grove, Bristol.”

“ 48, BEDFORD SQUARE,

“ February 7th, 1833.

“ DEAR MADAM,—I had last night great pleasure in receiving your letter of the 28th ultimo, and offer you and Miss CASTLE my cordial thanks for your kind remembrance of me. I beg to assure you that I am fully sensible of the kind attention you have shewn me, and feel indeed grateful for it. I intended to pay you both a visit while residing in Dover, but I was informed that

it was necessary to pass London on my way to Bristol. My health is, thank God, thoroughly reestablished. I therefore embrace the opportunity of paying you a visit in the latter end of the month, or any rate by the beginning of next. I will endeavour to bring Mr. RUTT with me, though I am sorry to say that in consequence of my ill health I have not yet had the pleasure of seeing him. Pray remember me kindly to Miss CAROLINE RUTT, and present my best respects to Dr. CARPENTER, who truly stands very high in my estimation. I now conclude this with my best regards for you and for Miss CASTLE, and remain, dear Madam,

“Yours most faithfully,

“RAMMOHUN ROY.

“To Miss KIDDELL,

“Stapleton Grove, near Bristol.”

“BEDFORD SQUARE,

“May 14th, 1833.

“DEAR MADAM,—During last week I more than once intended to proceed to Bristol to avail myself of your kind invitation. But *important* matters passing here daily have detained me, and may perhaps detain me longer than I expect. I however lose no time in informing you that the influenza has already lost its influence in London, a circumstance which justifies my entertaining a hope of seeing you and your friends in the metropolis within a short time, perhaps by the 25th instant. In the anticipation of the pleasure of being

soon introduced to you and your friends, I remain, with my best compliments to Miss CASTLE and Miss RUTT,

“D  ar Madam,

“Yours most faithfully,

“RAMMOHUN ROY.

“P.S.—I sincerely hope that you *all* have escaped the complaint. “R. R.

“Miss KIDDELL,

“Stapleton Grove, near Bristol.”

To Miss KIDDELL.

“June 12th, 1833.

“DEAR MADAM,—As Astley’s Theatre commences at a-quarter past six o’clock p.m., I propose doing myself the pleasure of calling upon you at a little after half-past five to accompany you and your friends to the Theatre. In the meantime, I remain, dear Madam,

“Yours very sincerely,

“RAMMOHUN ROY.”

To Miss CASTLE.

“June 22nd, 1833.

“MA CH  RE DEMOISELLE,—I hope you will excuse my boldness when I take upon myself to remind you of your promise to read the publication of a certain learned Brahmin which I have brought to your notice. You may begin with page 4, and afterwards with the

preceding part. I trust our truly esteemed Miss KEDDELL is now restored to health, and remain,

“Yours very sincerely,

“RAMMOHUN ROY.”

This note does not request an answer.

To Miss KIDDELL.

“DEAR MADAM,—I hope you and your friends are not worse from keeping late hours. I beg your acceptance of the accompanying volume containing a series of sermons preached by Dr. CHANNING, which I prize very highly.

“I also beg you will oblige me by rendering the small pamphlet, published by a friend, acceptable to Miss CASTLE. Being averse to induce her to write a letter of thanks for such a trifling present, I have refrained from sending it directly to Miss CASTLE. Had I not been engaged to a dinner party to-day, I would have made another trial of Miss RUTT’s generosity this afternoon. I will endeavour to pay you a short visit between the hours of ten and twelve, should you be at home.

“I remain,

“Yours very sincerely,

“RAMMOHUN ROY.”

“48, BEDFORD SQUARE,

“*July 9th, 1833.*

“DEAR MADAM,—I had yesterday the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 6th, and rejoice to learn

that you find my son peaceable and well-behaved. I however entreat you will not stand on ceremony with him. Be pleased to correct him whenever he deserves correction. My observation on, and confidence in, your excellent mode of educating young persons, have fully encouraged me to leave my youngster under your sole guidance. I at the same time cannot help feeling uneasy now and then at the chance of his proving disrespectful or troublesome to you or to Miss CASTLE.

"Miss DANIEL is not going to Bristol to-day. She will probably leave us on Friday next, when I intend to send a parcel of books, &c., in her charge. I hope I shall be able to have the pleasure of visiting you at your country residence next week, and not before, a circumstance which I fear will prevent us from joining the meeting in your neighbourhood. Dr. CARPENTER (I think) left London on Saturday last. I doubt not you will take my youngster every Sunday to hear that pious and true minister of the Gospel.

"I will write again by Friday next. In the meantime I remain, dear Madam,

"Yours very sincerely,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"Miss KIDDELL,

"Stapleton Grove, near Bristol."

On the same sheet as the foregoing :—

"MA CHERE DEMOISELLE,—With delight I read the few lines with which you have favoured me, and offer you my warm acknowledgements for them. They indi-

cate that I still retain a place in your memory. I hope I shall be able to receive from you next week marks of personal civility. I also hope to be able to send you a small volume on Friday next for your acceptance, with a short letter, and will earnestly expect for a few lines in reply. Pray remember me kindly to my son and to Miss RUTT, and believe me always, with the kindest regard,

"Yours most sincerely,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"Pray excuse haste, as dinner is getting cold.

"R. M. R.

"Miss CATHERINE CASTLE."

"48, BEDFORD SQUARE,

"*July 19th, 1833.*

"DEAR MADAM,—I know not how to express the eager desire I feel to proceed to Bristol to experience your further marks of attention and kindness, and Miss CASTLE'S civil reception and polite conversation. But the sense of my duty to the natives of India has hitherto prevented me from fixing a day for my journey to that town, and has thus overpowered my feeling and inclination. It is generally believed that the main points respecting India will be settled by Wednesday next, and I therefore entertain a strong hope of visiting you by Friday next. I shall not fail to write to you on Wednesday or perhaps on Tuesday next. I feel gratified at the idea that you find my youngster worthy of your company. Nevertheless I entreat you will exercise your

authority over him, that he may benefit himself by your instructions. If you find him refractory, pray send him back to London. If not, you may allow him to stay there till I supply his place. With my best wishes for your uninterrupted health and happiness,

“I remain, dear Madam,

“Yours very sincerely, . . .

“RAMMOHUN ROY.

“Miss ANN KIDDELL.

“P.S. All the active members of the East India Company having been incessantly occupied by the Charter question, I have not yet brought the subject relative to your young nephew to the notice of any of them.

⋮

“R. R.”

The following letter is on the same sheet :— .

“*Friday, dispatched on Saturday.*

“MA CHERE DEMOISELLE,—Many thanks for your obliging and polite communication, which, by mistake, bears no date. I am glad to observe that you are pleased with your late journey, and with your visit to Windsor. The account which Miss KIDDELL and yourself have given of my son, gratifies me very much. Miss HARE received a letter from him this morning (which she read to me), expressing his utmost joy and satisfaction with his present situation. I beg you will accept my best thanks for your kind treatment of him. Instead of thanking me for the little tract I had the pleasure to send you last week, I wish you had said only that you would pay attention to it.

"You will perceive from my letter to Miss KIDDELL that I am to be detained here a week longer at the sacrifice of my feelings. I however cannot help reflecting that to entertain a hope of enjoying the society of friends (though for a short time, say one month) is more pleasant than bringing it to a termination by the completion of it. Adieu for the present.

"I remain,

"Yours very sincerely and obliged,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"Miss CATHERINE CASTLE."

"48, BEDFORD SQUARE,

"*July 24th*, 1833.

"DEAR MADAM,—From my anxiety to proceed to Bristol heavy duties appeared to me light, and difficult tasks had seemed easily manageable. The consequence was that I met with disappointments from time to time, which I felt severely. To-day is the third reading of the India Bill in the House of Commons, after long vexatious debates in the Committee, impeding its progress under different pretensions. After the Bill has passed the Lower House, I will lose no time in ascertaining how it will stand in the Upper Branch, and will immediately leave London without waiting for the final result. I will proceed direct to Bristol next week, and on my way to [from ?] London I will endeavour to visit my acquaintances at Bath and its vicinity. I deeply regret that I should have been prevented from fulfilling my intention this week, by circumstances over which I had no control.

"I feel very much obliged by your kind suggestions contained in my son's letter. You may depend on my adhering to them. I intend to leave this place a little before ten a.m., that I may arrive there on the morning of the following day. Before I leave London I hope to be able to procure the situation for your young relative. Pray present my kindest regards to Miss CASTLE, and believe me, dear Madam,

"Yours very sincerely,

"RAMMOHUN ROY."

"Miss ANN KIDDELL."

"48, BEDFORD SQUARE,

"August 16th, 1833.

"DEAR MADAM,—I have now the pleasure of informing you that I feel relieved, and will proceed to Stapleton Grove on Thursday next. I beg you will excuse this short letter as I am incessantly engaged in making preparations, particularly in writing letters to India and in different parts of this country. Pray give my love to my son and my kind regards to Miss CASTLE, and believe me, dear Madam,

"Yours very sincerely,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"P.S.—Miss HARE presents her compliments to yourself and Miss CASTLE.

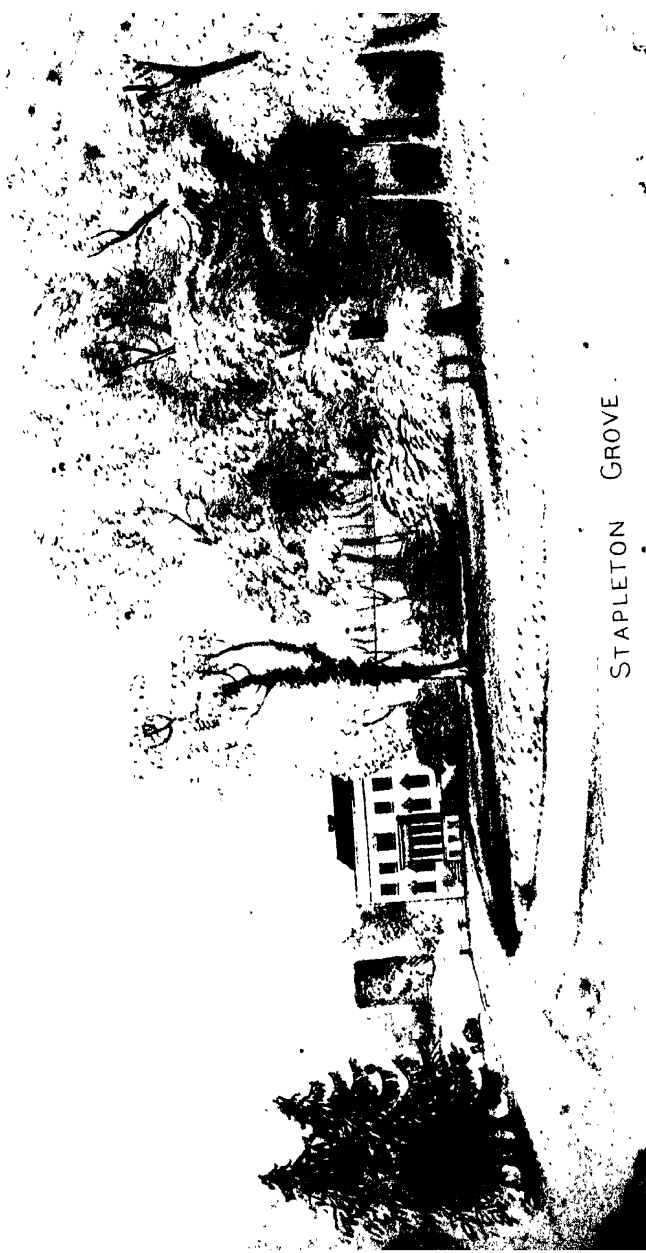
"E. R.

"Miss KIDDELL,

"Stapleton Grove, near Bristol."

Alas ! The happiness of the meeting in Bristol with friends so much esteemed,—the interchange of thought with congenial minds so long anticipated, was destined by the Supreme Disposer of all to be but of short duration. No visit most delightful, but too short, remained to be treasured in the memory of the noble guest with affectionate regret at its termination !—Before the letters reached India the hand that traced them was cold in death !—And we who had rejoiced in his presence were mourning his departure !

Thou orderest all things well, O Father, and we will trust where we cannot trace !



STAPLETON GROVE



CHAPTER III.

VISIT TO BRISTOL.

THE RAJAH'S DEATH, AND INTERMENT.

EARLY in the month of September, 1833, the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY arrived at Stapleton Grove, near Bristol, accompanied by Miss HARE, the daughter of his late esteemed friend, Mr. DAVID HARE, of Calcutta, who then resided with her uncles in Bedford Square; he was attended by his two Hindoo servants, RAMHURRY DOSS and RAMROTUN MUKERJAH. His son, RAJAH RAM ROY, was already at Stapleton Grove, as we learnt from the letters in the preceding chapter.

The annexed sketch gives a view of the house from the garden side. A grove of fine old trees leads by a carriage drive from the Porter's Lodge to the front entrance.

Stapleton Grove is an agreeable and commodious mansion, which might well be selected as an example of an English gentleman's country residence. It had belonged to Mr. MICHAEL CASTLE, a highly esteemed

Bristol merchant, and one of Dr. CARPENTER's congregation. On the death of that gentleman, and shortly after that of his wife, Mrs. CASTLE, Dr. CARPENTER undertook the charge which they had requested him to fulfil of being one of the guardians of their only child, a young lady of great promise, confiding unreservedly in his excellent influence, and good judgment in directing her.

As neither Dr. CARPENTER's professional engagements, nor the nature of his own establishment, authorised his seeking the privilege he would so greatly have valued of receiving his distinguished friend in his own house, it had been arranged soon after the Rajah's arrival in England, that whenever he was able to visit Bristol he should take up his abode at Stapleton Grove, where Miss KIDDELL and Miss CASTLE esteemed it a high honour to receive him; and would do all in their power to render agreeable his stay in the neighbourhood.

After his exciting life in London, the Rajah was doubtless glad of the quiet of a country life, and we do not hear of his having made any public appearance, or sought for gaiety or places of amusement, during his too brief abode near Bristol. But almost every day, if not daily, he and Dr. CARPENTER had friendly intercourse, either at Stapleton Grove or at Dr. C.'s residence in Great George Street, and it is needless to say that increased acquaintance with the illustrious stranger tended only to increase the affection, admiration and respect, already felt for him.

In the House of Prayer where Dr. CARPENTER offici-

ated, Lewin's Mead Chapel, the Rajah worshipped on two successive Sundays, the last he was to spend on earth in the public services of religion.

"On the first," says Dr. CARPENTER, "I addressed this congregation from words in the 18th chapter of the First Book of Kings; where, after the solemn sacrifice on Mount Carmel, and the proof from heaven that Jehovah is God alone, the Prophet of the Lord, after sending for six times in vain, received at the seventh, the report of his servant, 'There ariseth a little cloud out of the sea like a man's hand.' In that discourse I adverted, with earnest respect, to the recent death of Mr. WILBERFORCE, who had lived to see the seal put to the accomplishment of purposes to which the greatest labours of his life had been directed; and it was my intention, when I again preached in the morning, to continue the subject, by adverting to various other facts in the divine government, where great and effectual and lasting good was begun in circumstances which called for the faith as well as the hopefulness of the servants of God; in some of which it seemed as if nothing were achieved or even effectually commenced;—all contributing to cheer the wearied disappointed heart under difficulties and opposition, and affording abundant encouragement to 'the patience of hope and the labour of love'." *

On the next Sunday, Dr. C.'s colleague, Rev. R. B. ASPLAND, officiated; he says in reference to it, "I had to speak in behalf of Manchester New College. The

* This sermon, "The Prophet's Cloud," is in the volume of Dr. CARPENTER'S printed discourses.

appeal interested him, and he sent me by Mr. ESTLIN a kind message, intimating his purpose of seeing me, and sending through me a contribution to the College. He did not live to fulfil his purpose."

The work of the Hindoo Reformer had long been known in Bristol, and about eight years before, his services in the cause of philanthropy and religion were in an especial manner brought forward to this congregation, when an appeal was made to it, answered with even more than its wonted liberality, to assist in the establishment of Unitarian worship in the capital of British India.

His appearance, then, in Lewin's Mead Chapel was warmly welcomed, and is recollected by many with deep interest. He intended visiting other places of worship, as he had done in London, his spirit being truly catholic.

It will be remembered that seventeen years before, the Rajah had first worshipped with Christians in the family of EUSTACE CAREY, and received from him a copy of Watts's Hymns; little did that gentleman know how that volume would be treasured. "It was a common practice with the Rajah," says Dr. C., "as he went to public worship, to read some of Dr. WATTS's Hymns for Children; and he frequently dwelt with great and earnest interest on the verse,

"Lord! how delightful 'tis to see
A whole assembly worship thee:
At once they sing, at once they pray;
They hear of heaven and learn the way."

Several persons well known in the literary world had

the opportunity of conversing with the Rajah. The celebrated essayist, Rev. JOHN FOSTER, occupied a house adjoining, which he rented from Miss CASTLE. Mention is made of his interviews with the distinguished stranger in the life and correspondence of that eminent man.

Even in cases where there had been a prejudice against the Rajah, though we cannot suppose that there could have been many of these, his personal influence soon removed it; this is remarkably shewn in a letter of Mr. FOSTER's to a friend, dated October 8, 1833:—

“I had entertained a strong prepossession against him (the Rajah), had ^{no} wish to see him, but could not avoid it, when he was come to the house of our young landlady, Miss CASTLE. My prejudice could not hold out half-an-hour after being in his company. He was a very pleasing and interesting man; intelligent and largely informed, I need not say—but unaffected, friendly, and, in the best sense of the word, polite. I passed two evenings in his company, only, however, as a unit in large parties; the latter time, however, in particular and direct conversation with him, concerning some of the doctrines of the Indian philosophers, the political, civil, and moral state of the Hindoos.” *

A large party was invited to meet the Rajah at Stapleton Grove, on the 11th of September. Of this Dr. CARPENTER says,—

“In the conversation at Stapleton Grove were men fully competent to judge of intellectual power: and one and all admired and were delighted by the clearness, the

* *Vide FOSTER's Life and Correspondence*, Vol. II., p. 94.

closeness, and the acuteness of his arguments, and the beautiful tone of his mind. In the second of the two conversations at which Mr. FOSTER was present, the Rajah continued for three hours, standing the whole time, replying to all the inquiries and observations that were made by a number of gentlemen who surrounded him, 'on the moral and political state and prospects of India, and on an elucidation at great length of certain dogmas of the Indian philosophers.' Admiring respect was, I may say, the sentiment of all present."

Among those present on that occasion was JOHN SHEPPARD, Esq., of Frome, the author of many valuable devotional works. He afterwards addressed a letter to the Rajah, on one of the subjects of the conversation which had taken place. 'It never received an answer, for he to whom it was addressed was on the bed of sickness when it reached him; but as it possesses interest from indicating the nature of some of the discussions which then occurred, it may be here transcribed:—

"5, RICHMOND TERRACE, CLIFTON,

"September 17th, 1833.

"RESPECTED RAJAH,—I feel in common with others who were present, much indebted for the various information which you gave last evening, and for the obliging and affable manner in which it was communicated. One subject on which we troubled you with many queries—the doctrine of Absorption—is in itself so abstruse, and our language may perhaps be so imperfectly adapted to *state* ideas which are so entirely

foreign (especially when it is extemporaneously used in a way so unfamiliar), that I doubt whether even the questions and statements of my learned and very acute friend Mr. FOSTER (though I know no one so competent) fully indicated to your apprehension the precise object of our inquiry. Suffer me to attempt expressing what we wished to learn with regard to the real opinions of those philosophic Hindus, who seek 'absorption' as the chief good. I conceive it may be briefly put thus:—Do they believe that there may be consciousnesses, or a plurality of consciousness (indivisibly) in the 'One Total of happy Being?—or—Do they believe that there can be but *one* consciousness in that One Total of happy Being?

"Only the former of these suppositions seems to require being illustrated. If *that* be the tenet, it appears to me to imply that the Absorbed, though no longer properly an *I* or *human* person, may still somehow *soliloquize*; or rather think or utter its undivided strain in the Divine *Omniloquy*. As thus—'That which was *I*, but is rejoicingly not *I*, exists but also fully in-exists and has its undivided being, or in-being in the Universal Mind. It meditates with the whole, *is* of the whole, is blest with and in the whole. The interposed and dissoluble, which parted the unity and continuity of the Divine *Substance*, is gloriously removed. The substance which was *I* is now not *itself* (though it exists), for it is continuous with the whole Divine Self. It has no will, but a mode of the universal will, no thought but a mode of the whole thought of the 'I am.'

“ If such be the tenet, however inconceivable or dimly conceivable (by *us* at least) such a sort or modification of consciousness may be, it is nevertheless not *unconscious* being to which those philosophers aspire, but a *mode of conscious inexistence* or *in-being*.

“ It is remarkable that a notion or hope akin to that of these teachers in whose doctrine you are so deeply versed, has been intimated, though with a very obscure vagueness, by one of our modern poets (an anti-religious and, I fear, anti-theistical but very gifted mind), in a beautiful elegy called ‘Adonais.’ I do not mention this at all to insinuate such a tendency in the Hindu speculation, but only as a specimen of curious coincidences in mental views the most remote. I ventured to suggest last evening a point of indirect resemblance between the Hindu doctrine of Absorption (so understood), and our doctrine of the Divine Trinity in Unity (which you know is so strenuously held, under somewhat diverse explications, by many of us, and impugned by others); and I still think on reflection, that our view of the Trinity does involve the principle of *In-Existence*, of a plurality of consciousnesses in The One Being, together perhaps with, what is not necessarily involved in that view of Absorption, an *interconsciousness*, or intercommunication of the consciousnesses which are in the *Perfect Being*. Nor does this appear to me an impossible supposition; but rather a supposition tending to enhance our thoughts of the *Omnimodous* perfection of Deity. (Pardon my using or inventing terms which the abstruseness of the topic seems to demand). I must

also run the hazard of being found to think darkly or weakly on a subject so high, and on which I have not read very much of the thoughts of others.

"It is in itself so interesting a question, whether a large and lettered portion of our race are expecting and desiring some *mode of conscious* being after death, or a merely unconscious being (which in our view is no more than not being), that I hope you will forgive my trying thus to put the query. It will be clearly seen that I do not ask what *you* think, but what *they* think. But I by no means wish to give you the trouble of a lengthened answer. If my query be intelligible, you would much gratify me (and my friends) by simply writing either 'they desire a *conscious in-being*,' or 'they desire a wholly *unconscious in-being*.'

"Excuse my unacquaintance with the proper terms of politeness in addressing you, and

"Believe me, Rajah,

"Yours with respect,

"JOHN SHEPPARD."

There was also on that occasion much conversation on religious topics, and as those last statements of the Rajah's views possessed peculiar interest, as well as much importance, after his lamented death, Dr. CARPENTER requested a written statement respecting their recollection of them from two gentlemen who were present, Rev. JOHN FOSTER and Dr. JERRARD. These are inserted in his "Review":—

“ ‘To the Rev. JOHN FOSTER, Stapleton.

“ ‘GREAT GEORGE STREET, 12th Oct., 1833.

“ ‘DEAR SIR,—You cannot have forgotten the remarkable conversation at Stapleton Grove on the 11th ult., principally between Dr. JERRARD and the Rajah, on the subject of the extent and reasons of the Christian belief of the latter. May I solicit your opinion as to the correctness of the following position—that the Rajah’s declarations at that time authorize the conviction that he believed in the divine authority of Christ, though he rested this belief on internal evidence; and that he believed in the resurrection of Christ.

“ ‘May I further ask, if any thing that passed elsewhere in your hearing threw any doubt into your mind whether he believed in the divine authority of Christ?

“ ‘If you deem the position correct, and answer the inquiry in the negative, may I, *to that extent*, speak of you as among others at the conversation to which I refer?

“ ‘I am, &c.,

“ ‘LANT CARPENTER.’

“ ‘To this I received the following reply, which must set the question at rest. For the fullness of its statement, and for the permission to employ it, I feel greatly obliged to Mr. FOSTER, as will also many other friends of the Rajah.

“ ‘STAPLETON, Oct. 14.

“ ‘DEAR SIR,—My memory is so very defective that I have no doubt your own, and that of each of the gentle-

men of the party at Stapleton Grove, will have more faithfully retained many particulars of the conversation with that most interesting person, the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY. I cannot recollect whether, in replying, with promptitude and the utmost apparent frankness, to the respectful inquiries concerning his religious opinions, he expressed in so many exact words his 'belief in the divine authority of Christ.' But it was virtually such a declaration when he avowed, as he did unequivocally, his belief in the resurrection of Christ, and in the Christian miracles generally. At the same time he said that the *internal* evidence of Christianity had been the most decisive of his conviction. And he gave his opinion, with some reasons for it, that the miracles are not the part of the Christian evidence the best adapted to the conviction of sceptics.

"This led one of the gentlemen to observe, that surely the sceptics must admit, that if the miracles recorded were real facts, they must be irrefragable proof of the truth of what they were wrought to attest; and that in so serious an affair the sceptics are under a solemn obligation to examine faithfully the evidence that they were actually wrought, which if they did, they would find that evidence decisive.

"The Rajah instantly assented to this; but I thought I perceived by his manner that he had a slight surmise that the observation might possibly be meant to bear on *himself*, with some implication of a doubt, in consequence of what he had said of the inferior efficacy of the proof from miracles, whether *he* had an *entire* conviction of the reality of those recorded miracles; for he said, very

pointedly, that any argument on that subject was quite superfluous as to *him*, for that he did believe in their reality.

“It was of sceptics generally that he spoke; but I thought it probable (from recollection of something in one of his writings), that he had especially in his mind the *Hindoo* sceptics, whose imaginations have been so familiarized with the enormous prodigies of the Brahminical Mythology, that, in spite of their rejecting them as monstrous fables, they retain an exaggeration of ideas, an incapacity of apprehending the true proportions of things, which will not allow them to see any thing great and impressive in the far less prodigious wonders of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures: besides that their revolt from the belief of the fabulous miracles creates in them a tendency, unchecked by any due strength and discrimination of reason, to reject all others.

“In the conversation with the Rajah in a party who had the gratification of meeting him in a few days later, there was not any distinct reference to his religious opinions. It turned on the moral and political state and prospects of India; and on an elucidation, at great length, of certain dogmas of the Indian philosophers.

“If these few sentences can be of the smallest use to you, in any statement you may have to make or maintain respecting the Rajah's professions on the subject of religion, they are quite at your service for that purpose.

“I am, &c.,

• “J. FOSTER.

“To the Rev. Dr. CARPENTER.”

"I addressed inquiries, in the same terms with the first series in the note to Mr. FOSTER, to Dr. JERRARD, the able and intelligent Principal of Bristol College. Very pressing claims on his time and attention obliged him repeatedly to postpone the execution of his purpose to give me a full reply ; which I knew would be to the same effect with that of Mr. FOSTER ; and at last he found it necessary to satisfy himself with sending me the following brief answer to my questions, which he has authorized me to employ in any way I judged proper.

"1. The Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY expressed his belief in the divine authority of Jesus Christ, as an inspired teacher of righteousness, and an accredited messenger from God.

"2. He explicitly declared that he believed in the miracles of Christ generally, and particularly in his resurrection, which he said was the foundation of the Christian faith, and the great fact on which he rested his own hopes of a resurrection'."

These few days at Stapleton Grove left, then, very deep traces. "Those," says Dr. CARPENTER, "whom he had long honoured with his friendship, had opportunities of unreserved communication with him, on which they now dwell with deep interest and satisfaction. Several others who could appreciate his eminent qualities had friendly intercourse with him ; and arrangements were making to enable more to know him personally, who had learnt to regard him with high respect. But ten days had scarcely elapsed before the fatal disorder began its ravages ; and in less than ten

days more the event arrived which has filled many a heart with dismay and sorrow."

Here our records of the Rajah's visit to Bristol are brought to a mournful close.

"It was the next morning," (the 17th) says Dr. C., "that I saw him for the last time during his life. He came down late to breakfast. I perceived that he was much exhausted with the excitement and fatigue of the preceding evening; and I felt anxious that he should that day have rest. His complete rest was nearer than any heart, but his own perhaps, foreboded: yet he showed no indications of loss of mental power; and in the evening of that day, he conversed for several hours with his friends of Stapleton Grove, and the intelligent mother of Mr. ESTLIN, who regards it as a great privilege to have shared in this last most interesting interview."

"I was myself kept at home by indisposition; and I was unable to go to see him till my presence was likely to prove injurious. From the morning preceding his illness, therefore, I saw him no more, till the rest of death had ended all suffering, and, as respects personal intercourse, all earthly hope: but then, with his more privileged friends who had attended him to the last, I witnessed the benignant expression, still surviving, which had so often given a charm to his noble countenance, and which those who shared his intimacy can never have effaced from their recollection."

- The account of the last scenes we copy from the private journal of Mr. ESTLIN, by the kind permission of his daughter. Though it is mournful and distressing

to retrace in these records the gradual decay of nature in so noble a being, yet it will be soothing to the feelings of those who sorrow for his death in a foreign land to perceive that he had every alleviation that devoted friendship could minister, or that medical skill could afford.

"BRISTOL, MONDAY, *September 9th*, 1833.—I went to Stapleton to call on RAMMOHUN ROY. I had much interesting conversation with him; he distinctly asserted his belief in the divine mission of Christ; the internal evidence of Christianity he considers stronger than the historical evidence of the New Testament. He gave me a little pamphlet translated from the Hindostanee." I mentioned to him Professor LEE's assertion that he (RAMMOHUN ROY) denied the divine origin of Christianity. He said he had denied the divinity of Christ, but not of his commission.

"WEDNESDAY, 11TH.—Went with Dr. CARPENTER to Stapleton to dine. Met there Drs. JERRARD and SYMONDS, Messrs. FOSTER, BRUCE, WORSLEY, ASPLAND, &c., &c. The conversation at dinner was very interesting, the Rajah giving us an account of the process, mental and spiritual, which he went through in arriving at his present religious conclusions. His belief in the resurrection of Christ, and as the foundation of his faith in the general resurrection, he firmly declared.

"THURSDAY, 12TH.—I slept here. We had much interesting conversation at breakfast. I gave RAMMOHUN ROY some account of the West Indian negroes. He was not prepared for the statements I made, his know-

ledge being derived from the Missionaries chiefly. Miss KIDDELL, Miss CASTLE, the Rajah, and I, came into Bristol in their carriage. They called at 47, Park Street, for the Rajah to see my bees, with which he was much pleased.

"FRIDAY, 13TH.—Saw patients at two, and at four went to Frenchay; there was a dinner party; the Rajah, Miss KIDDELL, Miss CASTLE, Dr. JERRARD, Mr. CURRY, of Dublin, Mr. BRUCE, J. COATES, &c. &c. Conversation on politics. RAMMOHUN ROY attacked the Whig party for their mode of carrying the reform question.

"SATURDAY, 14TH.—I went to Stapleton Grove, and there met Dr. CARPENTER. We had pleasant conversation with the Rajah, and dined there.

"SUNDAY, 15TH.—Miss KIDDELL's carriage, with the Rajah, took MARY and me up on our way to Chapel. I gave him Dr. PRICHARD's work (on "The Physical History of Man"), which I had borrowed of the Doctor for RAMMOHUN ROY's perusal.

"TUESDAY, 17TH.—My mother went in the evening to spend a day or two at Stapleton Grove, to meet RAMMOHUN ROY.

"THURSDAY, 19TH.—I rode over to Stapleton to see my mother, &c. Found the Rajah ill in fever; he saw me very willingly, and I prescribed for him. Called at Mr. BRIGHT's counting-house to put off going to Ham Green; and at eight the Rajah's carriage came for me. I found him a little better, but still feverish. Mr. JOHN HARE and Miss HARE, with whom RAMMOHUN ROY lives, were there. I slept there.

"FRIDAY, 20TH.—The Rajah no better. I came home by two in the Rajah's carriage; went out again to dinner. The Rajah had headache coming on, but it subsided on the effect of medicine. He slept in the evening, but with his eyes much open. On awaking about eleven, I found his extremities very cold and his pulse 130 and weak, with the appearance of collapse. Warm liquids and a little wine, and external warmth, relieved him, but his restlessness, changing from the bed to the sofa on the ground, was very great. I begged to-day he would allow Miss HARE to attend him constantly. He said it would be very improper. I assured him the customs in this country rendered it quite proper, and she was admitted. I had her called up after she had gone to bed, to stay up with the Rajah. He seems much gratified with my services, and glad for me to sleep here. I felt very anxious about him to-night, and told my mother I should propose PRICHARD'S seeing him to-morrow, if he were not better.

"SATURDAY, 21ST.—Miss HARE sat up with the Rajah, and informed me in the night how he went on. I saw him early; his pulse was better, and himself altogether improved; tongue no better. Miss KIDDELL proposed Dr. PRICHARD should see him, to which I cheerfully assented. Went into Bristol; saw some patients at two, and went out to Stapleton with PRICHARD to dine at five. I did not tell the Rajah of PRICHARD'S visit until he was in the house. The Rajah expressed his satisfaction, and told me after how much PRICHARD'S countenance indicated talent. Mr. HARE met us here,

and highly approved of PRICHARD's coming. I went to bed at eleven. Miss HARE sat up again.

"SUNDAY, 22ND.—The Rajah was very restless till towards morning, when he slept with his eyes much open. PRICHARD came at half-past eleven; I went in with him, but returned at three. Mr. HARE came out also. In the evening the Rajah was better, and I was in more spirits about him. He said while PRICHARD, Mr. HARE, and I were with him, that if he were to die, he had the satisfaction of knowing he had the best advice in Bristol. MARY and my mother went into meeting in Miss CASTLE's carriage and returned. Miss HARE's attention to the Rajah is most watchful and unwearied; she has great influence with him, making him take his medicine much better than I could. He is evidently much attached to her, and her regard for him seems quite filial.

"MONDAY, 23RD.—I rose a little before five. The Rajah had passed a restless night, having only interrupted sleep with his eyes open. He was much oppressed all day, taking but little notice as usually, and yet perfectly collected when roused. I became more apprehensive of the event, but still am inclined to regard his recovery as probable as his death. Miss HARE spoke in the morning of more advice. I urged it also; Mr. HARE, though on his own account he did not wish it, considered it proper in the case of so well known and distinguished an individual; and principally on his suggestion Dr. CARNICK was called in. He came with PRICHARD in the evening. The head appearing the

organ most affected, leeches were applied. The Rajah was rather better at night. He has expressed to me his gratitude for my attentions, looks at me with great kindness, and constantly presses my hand. I assisted him into a warm bath in the earlier part of the day; he seemed somewhat relieved at night.

"TUESDAY, 24TH.—Mr. and Miss HARE and young RAJAH RAM sat up last night. I left them at eleven; returned to the sick chamber at five a.m. The Rajah's pulse was a little better than it was last night, and altogether he was not worse. CARRICK and PRICHARD came at twelve. During the day more composed and more quiet sleep, but with his eyes open. Towards evening and the night he is always worse.

"WEDNESDAY, 25TH.—The Rajah slept a good deal, and was quieter than during any preceding night; pulse 120 and weak; Mr. HARE staid up. When he reported to me, between three and four a.m., the patient's state, he expressed alarm at the frequent weakness of the pulse; extremities disposed to be very cold, but easily becoming warm when covered; he spoke very little, but is sensible when roused. I came into Bristol about twelve; went to Stapleton to dinner. The Rajah is still very poorly and weak. A mattress has been placed on the ground for him, where he now lies without changing his situation. He seldom speaks.

"THURSDAY, 26TH.—Mr. HARE sat up during most of last night; he reported to me between three and four a.m. that the Rajah's pulse had sometimes been very weak and rapid, so as to make him feel very solicitous.

He was in an imperfect sleep, with the eyes open most of the night. Dr. CARRICK came at eleven, and before PRICHARD arrived we were summoned to the room by Miss HARE, and found him with an attack of spasm, with convulsive twitchings of the mouth. These went on more or less for an hour or two, and he seemed not sensible of our visit, though in the morning when I went to him, he smiled at me and squeezed my hand in an affectionate manner. We had his hair cut off, and cold water applied to the head. After the spasms subsided, he appeared to sleep, the eyes still open, pupils small; the left arm and leg appeared paralysed. We settled to have Dr. BERNARD in the evening. I staid here all day, and am getting very apprehensive about the event. In the afternoon he became much warmer, and the pulse a little stronger, but spasms came on again about half-past six. He has swallowed with too great difficulty for many hours to allow of any quantity of nourishment, and he has been but little sensible since the morning, when he gave me his last look of recognition and thankfulness. Dr. BERNARD could not come—it was useless. PRICHARD and CARRICK left the Rajah in a dying state. Nobody went to bed before twelve. Miss KIDDELL was much with the Rajah; Miss CASTLE occasionally; Miss HARE, Mr. JOHN HARE and RAJAH RAM, seldom out of the room; my mother looked in now and then.

“FRIDAY, 27TH.—The Rajah became worse every few minutes, his breathing more rattling and impeded, his pulse imperceptible. He moved about his right arm

constantly, and he left a little a few hours before his death. It was a beautiful moonlight night; on one side of the window, as Mr. HARE, Miss KIDDELL and I, looked out of it, was the calm rural midnight-scene; on the other, this extraordinary man *dying*. I shall never forget the moment. Miss HARE, now hopeless and overcome, could not summon courage to hang over the dying Rajah, as she did while soothing or feeding him ere hope had left her, and remained sobbing in a chair near; young RAJAH was generally holding his hand. I doubt if he knew any since morn yesterday. About half-past one, to please Miss KIDDELL, as life was fast ebbing from our admired friend, and nothing but watching the last breath remained for those around, I lay down on my bed with my clothes on. At half-past two Mr. HARE came into my room, and told me it was all over; RAM ROTUN was holding the Rajah's chin, kneeling by him; Miss HARE, young RAJAH, Miss KIDDELL, Mr. HARE, my Mother, Miss CASTLE, RAM HURRY, and one or two servants were there also; his last breath had been drawn at twenty-five minutes past two a.m. During his last few moments RAM ROTUN, who is a Brahmin, on Mr. HARE desiring him to observe any custom usual among the Brahmins, said some prayer in Hindostanee. When the ladies had retired, we laid the body straight on the mattress, and conversed with the Hindoo servants. About half-past three or four we all left the room, some of the servants sitting up in the adjoining room. I went to bed, but not to much sleep, the event of the night being too distressing. Our break-

fast party was a melancholy one. Miss HARE remained in bed. PUGH, marble mason, came out with an Italian and took a cast of the Rajah's head and face.* Mr. J. HARE and I went into Bristol, and made arrangements about the examination to-morrow. Dr. CARPENTER came out to us in the morning.† We were all of us much in the room to-day with the body, which had a beautiful majestic look. The event is a stunning one to us."

"The Rajah repeatedly acknowledged, during his illness, his sense of the kindness of all around him, and in strong language expressed the confidence he felt in his medical advisers. It was a source of gratification to the friends with whom he resided in London, to find that, distressing as the event was to the family he was visiting, he had every comfort and accommodation that a large house, a quiet and healthy situation, and attached and affluent friends could bestow.

"He conversed very little during his illness, but was observed to be often engaged in prayer. He told his son and those around him that he should not recover.

"An examination of the body took place on Saturday, when the brain was found to be inflamed, containing some fluid and covered with a kind of purulent effusion: its membrane also adhered to the skull, the result, probably, of previously existing disease: the thoracic and abdominal viscera were healthy. The case appeared

* The cast is in the possession of Miss ESTLIN, Durham Down, Bristol.

† Dr. CARPENTER was prevented by his own illness from seeing the Rajah before his death.

to be one of fever, producing great prostration of the vital powers, and accompanied by inflammation of the brain, which did not exhibit, in their usual degree, the symptoms of that affection."

"The knowledge that the Rajah," says Dr. CARPENTER, "had, in various ways, manifested solicitude to preserve his caste, with a view both to his usefulness and to the security of his property, and the belief that it might be endangered if he were buried among other dead, or with Christian rites, operated to prevent the interment of his remains in any of the usual cemeteries. Besides this, the Rajah had repeatedly expressed the wish that, in case of his dying in England, a small piece of freehold ground might be purchased for his burying place, and a cottage be built on it for the gratuitous residence of some respectable poor person, to take charge of it. Every difficulty, however, was removed by the offer of Miss CASTLE, in which she had the warm accordance of all her intimate friends, to appropriate to the object a beautifully adapted spot, in a shrubbery near her lawn, and under some fine elms. There this revered and beloved person was interred, on the 18th of October, about 2 p.m. The coffin was borne on men's shoulders, without a pall, and deposited in the grave, without any ritual, and in silence. Every thing conspired to give an impressive and affecting solemnity to his obsequies. Those who followed him to the grave, and sorrowed there, were his son and his two native servants, the members of the families of Stapleton Grove and Bedford Square, the guardians of Miss CASTLE and two of

her nearest relatives, Mr. ESTLIN, Mr. FOSTER, and Dr. JERRARD, together with several ladies connected with those already enumerated: and as there could be no regular entry of the interment in any official registers, those who witnessed it have signed several copies of a record drawn up for the purpose, in case such a document should be needed for any legal purposes."

A fac-simile of this record is here given.

The venerable mother of Mr. ESTLIN thus recorded at the time her recollections of the events following the Rajah's death:—

"Soon after the Rajah's decease, it became a subject of deep interest *how* and *where* he should be interred. Miss CASTLE, and her aunt, Miss KIDDELL, wished to have him deposited in their family vault in Brunswick Square burying ground. But this Mr. HARE, his brother, and niece declared would be quite contrary to the Rajah's positive injunction, which was *to be buried apart from all others, not in a usual place of interment, nor with Christian observances*, fearing that if this injunction were not strictly complied with, he should lose caste, and thereby deprive his sons of their inheritance, and lessen his own influence in India. In these circumstances Miss CASTLE at once offered a place in her grounds well suited to the solemn purpose, which was gratefully accepted by the Mr. HARES, and thoroughly approved by her guardians and relatives.

"STAPLETON GROVE, FRIDAY, *October 18th*, 1833.—I attended, with a select number of mourning friends (perhaps twenty), the interment of the lamented Rajah.

Mary Carpenter & Great George St. Bristol
Elizabeth Dawson Mapleton Grove
Mary Anne Estlin 44 Park Street
Ramrotum Mukerjee ~~Ward~~ - Sewell
Ramkrishna Das
G. W. Davis

Mr Harris, Mr. H. Castle, Rev. J. Foster, Miss Foster, Mr. B.
Smith, & Mr. Hiddell were also present, but their signatures were not
affixed.

The scene was truly affecting and impressive. We all followed the coffin along the broad gravel walk, and through a winding path between the trees, which led to the beautiful spot selected, and consecrated indeed by being his resting place! Here we all stood around the open grave, in solemn silence, and watched with intense interest his sacred remains deposited in their last abode. We remained fixed to the spot for a considerable time, our minds filled with such thoughts as the awful scene could not but suggest, and I felt that no words were wanting to increase the proper feeling of our hearts. When at length an intention of retiring was manifested, a burst of grief was observed from those most nearly connected. The two Hindoo attendants who closed the funeral procession, stood leaning against the trees and sobbed aloud, as they took their last look at the grave of their late kind master. The sacred spot is in a recess surrounded by shrubs and trees, a beautiful seclusion near the lawn."

Mrs. ESTLIN described as follows the departure of the Hindoo servants :—

"OCTOBER 29TH, 1833.—Mr. HARE having fixed the next day for the departure of the late Rajah's Hindoo attendants from Stapleton Grove, requested that they might be permitted to take leave of the ladies, and to express their grateful thanks. Accordingly they entered the drawing-room, bowing very low several times, returning their thanks for the many favours they had received. Miss KIDDELL then said, 'RAM ROTUN, you have, I understand, visited Mr. D. at his request.' 'Yes,

I have.' 'Well, Mr. D. declares that you told him that when the Rajah was dying he prayed to 364 gods!' RAM ROTUN exclaimed, 'It is a great lie.' 'What then did you say?' said Miss KIDDELL. The Hindoo lifted his eyes and hands to heaven, and pointing in a most energetic manner upward, exclaimed, 'The Rajah prayed to Him—to that God who is here—who is there—who is all over—everywhere; to that God—the one God!'

"When they took their final leave they were extremely desirous to touch the ladies' hands. We all presented our hands in succession; to each they made a profound obeisance, bowing almost to the ground, and when they quitted the room they said, 'Oh! it is hard to go without our master.'"

The following account of the interment is derived from Mr. ESTLIN'S diary :—

"FRIDAY, 18th Oct., 1833. * * * The party assembled at Stapleton were young RAJAH and Miss HARE, Miss KIDDELL and Mr. JOSEPH HARE, Mr. JOHN HARE and Miss CARPENTER, Miss CASTLE and Dr. CARPENTER, my Mother and myself, HINTON CASTLE and Mrs. B. SMITH, MARY, Miss E. DAWSON and Miss FOSTER, Dr. JERRARD, Messrs. HARRIS, FOSTER, KIDDELL and G. SANDERS, RAM ROTUN and RAM HURRY, nearly in which order we followed the body in fours; it was brought out at about half-past one, without any pall; the attendants were merely in common mourning dress, and followed the body along the centre gravel walk, turning to the left over the lawn to the shrubbery, where it was to rest. It was then let down into the brick grave. The most

perfect silence was observed, save when broken by the sobs of those who attended. RAM HURRY was particularly distressed. It was a most solemn and affecting ceremony. After a long silence Dr. CARPENTER said (there were servants and bearers, &c., about) that the departure from usual customs on this occasion was in compliance with what was known to be the Rajah's desire, and Mr. JOHN HARE desired RAM ROTUN to explain to the Rajah's friends and family in India that he lay in a spot by himself, and that no religious service was performed at his interment. We saw the lid of the shell screwed down over the coffin, and returned to the house. Dr. CARPENTER read a copy of verses written for the occasion."

The following reminiscences of these affecting scenes were written by the present editor two years ago for the Hindoo gentlemen who then visited the Rajah's grave. As they faithfully record the vivid impressions of the time, she may be excused in introducing them here.

THE RESTING PLACE
OF THE RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY.

"We mournfully and in solemn silence laid the sacred remains of the revered Rajah in the peaceful, beautiful spot we had chosen, on the 18th of October, 1833.

"How, but a few weeks before, we had rejoiced at his long-expected visit to us! We had for many years watched his Star in the East, rising in calm solitary grandeur, the herald, we hoped, of a glorious morn to benighted India. We had seen it pass steadfastly on its heavenly way through the midst of dark clouds, and

even through fierce storms of persecution, and finally rise above them. My beloved Father, the devoted minister of pure Christianity, had viewed with intense thankfulness the efforts of this noble Hindoo to present to his countrymen the 'truth as it is in Jesus' free from all the corruptions with which ages had laden it, from all the creeds and articles of man's device, that they may be led by Christ, the beloved Son, to the Heavenly Father. It would be vain to attempt to describe our emotions on finding that this Champion of Truth had burst through all the fetters of prejudice and conventionality,—had crossed the ocean,—had come to our England,—had desired above all to embrace my Father, to whom he had long felt united in the bonds of Christianity,—had seen him,—had come to our city to be in daily intercourse with him! At the distance of thirty long years all this rises before me in its early freshness.

"My Father would have rejoiced to receive the Rajah into his own house, had he possessed fitting accommodation for so illustrious a guest. But his ward Miss CASTLE, a young lady of remarkable loveliness and maturity of mind, who resided with her aunt in a commodious mansion in beautiful grounds near Stapleton, felt highly honoured by the privilege of placing her house at his disposal. There he came; there gathered round him the wise and good who were able to obtain access to him; there JOHN FOSTER, of world wide celebrity for his unique and original writings, was a frequent domestic visitor; and there, or in his own house, my Father saw him daily. How did he win the admiration

and respect of all by his noble, princely bearing, and his gracious manners! How did I rejoice when it was my privilege to be in his company!

"On one Sunday only did he join with us in worship in our Lewin's Mead Chapel. We were very happy to have him there among us. My Father had selected for his subject, "The cloud no bigger than a man's hand," in reference to the progress of negro emancipation, of which the devoted advocate, Mr. WILBERFORCE, had just been summoned from his labours; and he felt the text and the tenor of his sermon equally applicable to the hopes we had for India. The occasion was deeply interesting. The melancholy privilege had been given him of following to the grave the champion of the oppressed; little did he imagine that in a few short weeks he should be called on to offer a similar mark of respect and affection to his illustrious hearen.

"It was on the 17th of September, after the Rajah had been about ten days in Bristol, that my Father went over to breakfast with him at Stapleton Grove, and that day being my sister's birthday, she was allowed the special pleasure of accompanying him. The Rajah appeared in his usual health and spirits, and on their departure, with his accustomed courtesy, attended them to the garden gate. This was the last time they were ever so to see him. Mrs. ESTLIN, the venerable mother of our medical attendant, was staying at the house, and enjoyed his society that evening, doubtless delighting him also by going back to the last century, and telling him what she had seen at Paris, when, on her wedding

excursion, she and her husband were at Versailles the last time the Court was held here, and found themselves in the midst of the great French Revolution; or how the Polish patriot, KOSCIUSKO, visited Bristol, and received hospitality from them. This was his last evening of social intercourse. The next morning he was somewhat indisposed; then we heard to our grief that the Rajah was ill; then that he was worse; the best medical practitioners did all that human skill could do for him, but, unavailingly; the fever gained ground rapidly, and soon the awful news arrived that he was dead! It was like a thunder-clap to us! We had seen him in the full strength and prime of manhood; his noble majestic frame seemed likely to last to a ripe old age; we thought that a long career lay before him. The Heavenly Father knew best how His great work should be accomplished, and summoned this, His faithful labourer, to his rest, that others might enter into his labours.

"It were useless now to dwell on the grief and perplexity which filled all our hearts; on the darkness which seemed to brood over the future of India. Nor will I attempt to record my solemn thoughts, when I entered the death chamber, and, placed near those windows whence the living Rajah had so often looked out on our lovely English scenery, I stood by the coffin which contained his mortal remains.

"The Rajah's illness had been so sudden, and such perfect quiet and freedom from exciting topics had been enjoined, as the only chance for recovery, that he had given no directions as to his last wishes. It was known,

however, that he adhered to all Brahminical customs, which, in his opinion, did not savour of idolatry ; this was not from any value which he attached to them, so much as to avoid all unnecessary cause of offence to his countrymen, which might lessen with them the influence of his writings. Two Brahmin servants continually attended on him, and after his death they found upon him the thread indicating his caste. The attached friends whose advice and assistance he had often sought in London, gave it as their opinion that with these known feelings of his, it would not be right to inter him in an ordinary burying ground ; indeed, he had been heard to express the wish that, if he died in England, a spot of ground should be purchased for him where he might lie in peace, and a cottage erected near to protect his resting place from intrusion. They thought, likewise, that there must be no religious worship or rite performed at his interment.

“In accordance with these views, it was considered best to select a secluded spot in the shrubbery shaded with beautiful trees, and there preparations were made for the last mournful rites. But these arrangements, and necessary consultations occupied considerable time, and as much public interest had been excited by the visit of the illustrious stranger and his mournful death, my Father decided on paying the respect due to him of a funeral sermon in his Chapel, without further delay, and it was announced that on the evening of Sunday, October 7th, he would preach on the mournful subject. The Chapel-yard was thronged some time before the

service commenced, and not only was every pew in the edifice densely crowded, but seats in the aisles were speedily filled, and the whole vacant space was closely occupied by people standing. Never, before nor since, have I beheld such a crowd in that or in any other place of worship. All who knew my Father, or who had ever heard him preach, will imagine what feeling, what depth of spirituality, was infused into every part of the service. The grand fortieth chapter of Isaiah which he read, had to me a high significance which it had never had before, and to this day I seldom hear it or read it without thinking of the Rajah. The sermon need not be described, as it was printed. The conclusion of it was deeply impressive. Who would have thought that on the sixth anniversary of that solemn time, the voice that uttered those words would no longer be heard in that sacred place; that the farewell he then gave to his illustrious friend would be uttered to himself; that even a deeper grief would fill that House of God?

“At length all the preparations were made. The Messrs. HARE had come from London, and those only were invited to assemble at Stapleton Grove who had been personally connected with the Rajah; Miss CASTLE’S guardians and immediate connections, the Messrs. HARE and their niece, who had attended on him in this last illness like a daughter, and young RAJAH RAM, his adopted son, with the Brahmin servants; the medical attendants, including Mr. ESTLIN with his venerable mother and young daughter; Dr. JERRARD, the celebrated JOHN FOSTER, my father and myself. Soon after

noon was the shrine containing the mortal remains of that glorious spirit, slowly and solemnly, in the deepest silence, borne down the broad gravel walk, followed by us his mourning friends, who had but lately known him in earth, but who hoped to meet him in the Father's Mansions above. The bearers wound along a shady walk, which his foot had doubtless often trodden, and there deposited their sacred burden in the appointed resting place! No voice ventured to express the deep thoughts which must have filled every breast! 'Who could have spoken over such a grave?' afterwards said JOHN FOSTER.

"On returning to the breakfast room, my Father expressed a wish to read to all present what he felt to be in harmony with the occasion, and to my surprise and confusion he read these sonnets, in which I had endeavoured to express my feelings, however inadequately. Then we separated to our homes."

The following sonnets are those composed after the death of the Rajah, and read by Dr. CARPENTER on that solemn occasion:—

SONNETS
ON THE INTERMENT
OF THE
RAJAH, RAMMOHUN ROY,

AT STAPLETON GROVE,

FRIDAY, the 18th of October, 1833.

I.

THE Nation sat in darkness ; for the night
Of pagan gloom was o'er it :—Thou wast born
Midst superstition's ignominy forlorn :
Yet in thy breast there glow'd a heavenly light
Of purest truth and love ; and to thy sight
Appear'd the day-star of approaching morn.
What ardent zeal did then thy life adorn,
From deep degrading guilt to lead aright
Thy fallen people ; to direct their view
To that bless'd Sun of Righteousness, whence beams
Guidance to all that seek it—faithful—true ;
To call them to the Saviour's living streams.
The cities of the East have heard thy voice—
“ Nations behold your God ! rejoice—rejoice.”

Is. xl. 9.

II.

Exil'd from home, o'en in thy earliest youth,
 The healing balm of woman's love was pour'd
 Into thy troubled breast: and thence were stor'd
 Deep springs of gratitude and pitying ruth.—
 To lead thy race to that primeval truth
 Which, bright and pure, on all alike bestow'd,
 Points heavenward; and to guide them on the road
 Of Christian faith—was thine: but yet to soothe
 Neglected woman; to assert her right
 To drink of wells of everlasting life;
 To snatch her, trembling midst the dismal night
 Of pagan horrors, from the fiery strife
 Of dark-soul'd zealots—*this* must wake our love,
 This fervent raise our thanks for thee above.

III.

Far from thy native clime, a sea-girt land
 Sits thron'd among the nations;—in the breasts
 Of all her sons immortal Freedom rests;
 And of her patriots many a holy band
 Have sought to rouse the world from the command
 Of that debasing Tyrant who detests
 The reign of truth and love. At their behests
 The slave is free; and Superstition's hand
 Sinks powerless.—Hitherward thy steps were bent
 To seek free commune with each kindred soul,
 Whose highest powers are ever willing lent
 To free their race from folly's dark controul.
 To our blest Isle thou didst with transport come:
 Here hast thou found thy last, thy silent home.

IV.

Thy work thou didst fulfil while yet 'twas day ;
And still right-onward towards thy beacon tend
With faith and zeal. And now thy footsteps bend
Where Christian friendship offers thee the stay
Of sympathy and love. But who shall say
What joy was ours, the eager ear to lend
To all thy accents, and thy steps attend ?—
The Angel of the Lord hath call'd away
His faithful servant, at the evening hour,
While glowing tints still gild the western sky.
Yet though around our hearts dark sorrows lour,
And tears of sad regret must dim the eye,
We mourn not without hope. Thy race is run,
Enter thy rest ! Servant of God—" Well done" !

V.

Bright hopes of immortality were given
To guide thy dubious footsteps, and to cheer
Thine earthly pilgrimage. How firm and clear
Arose thy faith, that as the Lord hath risen,
So all his followers shall meet in heaven !—
Thou art gone from us ; but thy memory, dear
To all that knew thee, fades not : still we hear
And see thee yet as with us :—ne'er are riven
The bands of Christian love !—Thy mortal frame
With us is laid in holy silent rest :
Thy spirit is immortal ; and thy name
Shall by thy countrymen be ever blest.
E'en from the tomb thy words with power shall rise,
Shall touch their hearts, and bear them to the skies.

CHAPTER IV.

TRIBUTES TO THE RAJAH'S MEMORY.

It was indeed an appalling event,—a deeply affecting dispensation of Providence, which so unexpectedly deprived India of her noble son, and the world of one of the most remarkable men which the century has produced.

The hopes of all who loved mankind, and who felt an especial interest in that great country which had become so closely connected with our own, had been raised to very high expectation by the steady unwavering progress of the great Hindoo Reformer. Having watched him at a distance with high admiration, we had the privilege of receiving him into our homes and our social circles;—we had seen him in the midst of the attractions of our capital, steadily keeping in view his great object of promoting the welfare of his country, and making the gratification of any private wishes yield to this. We had witnessed his intense interest in the general diffusion of free principles, especially in England, a country whose destiny must so materially influence the

East. Those who had any acquaintance with the less public proceedings of the Government, had observed how ready and able he was to afford all needed information;—how courteous, humble and respectful in giving it;—how firm and persevering in adhering to the course of duty;—how patient and assiduous in waiting for and seeking the proper opportunities.

We trusted that he was now to rest awhile in the enjoyment of the intercourses of friendship, thus preparing to return with renewed strength to carry to his countrymen new light, and the assurances of help and sympathy from their brethren in England.

But it was not so ordered. The sun of India went down with tropical suddenness, and left us in the deepest gloom. We were bewildered and cast down. The noble form of him in whom we had seen the embodiment of all that was good and noble and lovable, and which had appeared likely to last for many long years, was laid low in death, even while the thought of him in apparent health and strength was fresh in our remembrance. He passed away without one message to his countrymen,—without one last testimony to the truths which he had laboured to establish,—without one expressed wish as to the future of his family, and especially of his adopted son, left thus in the land of strangers! He believed from the commencement of his illness that the hand of death was upon him, but, though his spirit was frequently in prayer, and though while consciousness remained he could give a loving, grateful look, and an affectionate pressure of the hand to those who were tenderly caring for him, disease checked all utterance of

his wishes. Thus, too, was it ordered. In that solemn hour his faith in the Eternal Spirit resigned the labours of his life to higher keeping than his own, and his confidence in his friends left all else to them, without distrust or anxiety. His faith had a sure foundation,—for it was based on that revelation of the Father of our spirits which was made by his well-beloved Son.

At this distance of time we can perceive some of the reasons of that appointment which appeared at the time so mysterious. India was not at that period prepared fully to appreciate its great reformer. Had he returned to his own country he might have received even greater opposition and persecution than he had before experienced; had he died there, it is not likely that the event would have excited any special interest at the time, judging from the remarkable want of it which was there manifested at the period of his decease. But now that thirty years have witnessed great changes in his native land,—that some of his views have made much progress among his countrymen,—that important alterations have taken place in the position of our Government in reference to India, tending to remove the feeling of separation between the two nations,—it is now that the fact of the sacred remains of the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY being laid in our country forms a kind of tie of relationship between us, while the reverence and love with which we treasure the memory of our distinguished guest are a token to them of our sympathy with themselves, and may give to his writings an added claim on their attention.

The death of the Hindoo Reformer attracted much attention in the journals of the day, and drew public notice to his life and labours. In all that we have met with, however, the sources of information were the same only as have already been laid before the reader in this volume, and it would be unnecessary to repeat them. We shall present therefore in this chapter such private testimonies of respect as have been preserved to us, and in the next such portions of the Funeral Sermons which were preached on occasion of his death, as show the estimate formed of his character by ministers of piety and intellectual attainments.

The testimony of the family of the Mr. HARES, with whom the Rajah resided in London, has been given to us by Dr. CARPENTER. He says,—

“From this family I have received every advantage I could desire, in forming or confirming my opinions as to the Rajah's habits and character; and to the several members of it, his other personal friends must feel grateful for the numerous sources of comfort which he enjoyed among them. Mr. ARNOTT (in the ‘Athenæum’) says, with perfect justice, that they ‘discharged the duties of hospitality towards him, ever since his arrival in England, with a kindness, delicacy, and entire disinterestedness, which are honourable to the English character.’

“Possessed of the Rajah's unbounded confidence, acquainted with all his movements, and enabled to judge with complete accuracy of his habits and dispositions, the unhesitating and unequivocal testimony of this family, one and all, to the unvarying purity of his conduct and

the refined delicacy of his sentiments, is as decisive as it is valuable. I had, myself, repeated opportunities of observing with what earnest respect he appreciated true delicacy in the female character: and I learn, that, while he always maintained his habitual politeness to the sex, and may therefore have misled the superficial observer, he manifested a very prompt and clear discrimination as to individuals; and that he commonly expressed strong dislike, and even disgust, where they seemed to him to depart from that true modesty which is essential to its excellence.

“MR. JOSEPH HARE—his brother fully agreeing with him—assures me, that the Rajah was constantly in the habit of dictating, to those who were for the time acting as amanuenses, in phraseology requiring no improvement, whether for the press or for the formation of official documents—such verbal amendments only excepted, as his own careful revision supplied before the final completion of the manuscript: that he often had recourse to friends to write from his dictation; among others to himself and the members of his family: that it is his full conviction, that, from the day of the Rajah’s arrival in this country, he stood in no need of any assistance except that of a mere *mechanical* hand to write: and that he has often been struck—and recollects that he was particularly so at the time the Rajah was writing his ‘Answers to the Queries on the Judicial and Revenue Departments’—with his quick and correct diction, and his immediate perception of occasional errors when he came to revise the matter. These facts I and others have repeatedly heard from the MR. HARES; and I rest

with conviction upon them. It is happy for the Rajah's memory that he lived in the closest intimacy and confidence with friends who are able and willing to defend it, wherever truth and justice require."

Mrs. CASTLIN recorded at the time some interesting particulars which she learnt from Miss HARE. "The Rajah read the Scriptures daily in Hebrew and Greek. Miss HARE often read them to him also;—this was never omitted at night. He was also in a constant habit of prayer, and was not interrupted in this by her presence;—whether sitting or riding he was frequently in prayer. He told Miss H. that whenever an evil thought entered into his mind he prayed. She said, 'I do not believe you ever have an evil thought.' He answered, 'O yes, we are all liable to evil thoughts.'"

A touching mark of respect to the memory of her illustrious guest was given by Miss CASTLE.* A fine painting of the Rajah by BRIGGS, R.A., was brought to Bristol for exhibition; Miss CASTLE purchased it and presented it to the Bristol Philosophical Institution, that all who visit the place of his death may there see his living likeness. It is from this beautiful picture that the frontispiece is taken. The Rajah's personal appearance, which is well represented in this picture, is thus described in the *Asiatic Journal*, as quoted by Dr. CARPENTER in the appendix to his sermon:—

"The person of RAMMOHUN ROY was a very fine one.

* This estimable young lady did not long survive the Rajah. After a tedious and wearing illness she died December 13, 1835, aged 22.

He was nearly six feet high; his limbs were robust and well-proportioned, though latterly, either through age or increase of bulk, he appeared rather unwieldy and inactive. His face was beautiful; the features large and manly, the forehead lofty and expanded, the eyes dark and animated, the nose finely curved and of due proportion, the lips full, and the general expression of the countenance that of intelligence and benignity. The best portrait of him extant, is a full-sized one by BRIGGS. It is a good picture, as well as an admirable likeness. This portrait is now exhibiting in the Bristol Institution. I fully concur," Dr. C. continues, "in the *Journal's* praise of it. It gives, indeed, the impression of a less bulky person than the Rajah's was, in at least the later part of life; and the mouth does not satisfy me in its form or its expression: but the rest of the countenance, the attitude of the figure, and the hands—beautifully significant, as well as masterly painted—give that expression to the whole which those who contemplate RAMMOHUN ROY as the Hindoo Sage and Reformer would most desire. It is the expression of devout, reflecting, benignant philanthropy; hopeful, yet with a tinge of pensive solicitude; looking onward, and upward, and contemplating the gleams of truth and righteousness breaking forth to enlighten and to bless his country."

Miss AIKIN thus writes of the Rajah to Dr. CHANNING, in a letter dated Hampstead, Oct. 23, 1833 :—

"I have had your line by Dr. TUCKERMAN. I was in Kent when he called here, and therefore only saw him last week, but I am exceedingly struck and delighted with him, and impatient to hear him speak

more of his noble exertions and designs. On Thursday next I hope he and Mr. PHILLIPS will meet over my breakfast table my friend Mr. LE BRETON and dear JOANNA BAILLIE. You will be with us in spirit, for many associations will bring you to the minds of all of us. When I have the privilege to be present at a meeting like this, of the gifted and the excellent from the far ends of the earth, it seems to me a foretaste of the happiness reserved for the world of spirits. Alas for one who gave me this feeling beyond all others—the admirable RAMMOHUN ROY! He has been frustrated of one of his cherished hopes, that of seeing you face to face, either in this or the other hemisphere—but you were no strangers to each other. Scarcely any description can do justice to his admirable qualities, and the charms of his society, his extended knowledge, his comprehension of mind, his universal philanthropy, his tender humanity, his genuine dignity mixed with perfect courtesy, and the most touching humility. His memory I shall cherish with affectionate reverence on many accounts, but the character in which I best love to contemplate him is that of the friend and champion of woman. It is impossible to forget his righteous zeal against polygamy, his warm approval of the freedom allowed to women in Europe, his joy and pious gratitude for the abolition of *suttee*. Considering the prejudices of birth and education with which he had to contend, his constant advocacy of the rights and interests of the weaker sex seems to me the very strongest proof of his moral and intellectual greatness."

The following letter from Dr. BOOTT, an American

physician of London, to Mr. ESTLIN, is a most valuable testimony to the Rajah's religious character :—

“24, GOWER STREET, BEDFORD SQUARE,
“*November 27th*, 1833.

“MY DEAR SIR,—Your kind, most kind letter of yesterday, has this moment reached me, and I have shed tears over it, at the fresh recollection of the sorrow that has thrown a deep shadow over the future hopes and happiness of my life. I feel the most sincere gratitude to you for your valuable services, and your devotion and tenderness over the sick bed of our late beloved friend. God knows I have deeply sympathised with you in the painful responsibility of your situation, and I am well assured that everything which the soundest medical judgment, and the deepest solicitude could suggest, was done. In the feelings of all around me here, who dearly loved him, you and Dr. PRICHARD are spoken of with sincere and grateful respect, and the blessing of a just man made perfect now rests upon you.

“Your account of the change in your feelings towards the Rajah, from the influence of the reports that had reached you, has very deeply affected me; for, knowing the Rajah so well, it is the most striking evidence of the force of human prejudice that I have hitherto met with,—I mean on the part of those who misrepresented him to you; for your yielding to those representations arose from the same sensibility that led you first to admire him in his works. I thank God that you had an opportunity of tearing yourself the veil from your eyes, and that the primitive love and admiration you cherished

for him, was confirmed by your personal intercourse with him; confirmed to be rendered immutable by the seal of Death!

"To me he stood alone in the single majesty of, I had almost said, perfect humanity. No one in past history, or in present time, ever came before my judgment clothed in such wisdom, grace and humility. I knew of no tendency even to error. To say he was not the disciple of Christ, that he even smiled in approbation of infidelity, and joined those thoughtless and weak and ignorant men who set themselves up against the testimonies of the human heart, which asserts the truth of religion against the wit and the follies of the vainest and the cleverest head, is to belie his whole life. I have often talked with him on religious subjects, and have seen him amid sceptics. He was never more free and unembarrassed and cheerful, than when arguing with those who had a logical and acute mind. He often told me that he always introduced the subject when he met the historian of India, and that his object in the argument was to show the insufficiency of human reason for the production of the highest moral worth, and the highest happiness. He even contended that 'the Spirit that was in Christ Jesus,' and unknown and unrevealed till his mission, directed the human mind to more elevated, purer, and more disinterested thoughts, motives and actions, than the noblest philosophy of antiquity did or could do; that the Christian precepts left nothing to desire or to hope for through futurity; that, as a system of morality, it was alone able to lead to purity and happiness here, and to form the

mind for any conceivable state of advancement hereafter. He often beautifully said, 'I can never hope in my day to find mankind of one faith, and it is my duty to exercise the charities of life with all men.' He did not go about with the spirit of proselytism. He argued only for the sense of religious obligation, and emphatically assured us that all his experience of life had exhibited to him virtue and self respect and happiness in its true elements, ever in proportion to the intensity of that sense. He was the humblest of human beings, and ardent as he was in the faith of his selection, he was sensibly disturbed if religion was spoken lightly of, or argued but reverentially before woman. He would often smile and speak jocosely when the turn of the discussion made him uneasy from his sensibilities towards woman being awakened; and those who knew him, saw by his manner and looks that he adopted this lightness of manner in hopes that the subject would be dropped.

"I was once in his presence where a father was expressing doubts of Christianity before two of his daughters, who were near forty, and before three other ladies. He expressed himself most forcibly in defence of the immutable truth of the religion, and when the conversation was resumed by the sceptic, he touched lightly and with levity on the diction and expressions of the other, and often in the interval sat as if he were abstracted and unconcerned in what was said; and when appealed to, he in the same careless manner criticised the language of his opponent, without touching the sense. A lady whom he loved sat by me, and said in

an under tone to me, 'The Rajah appears to smile at everything.' I replied, 'Your words import more than you mean, and you mistake his present feelings; He is visibly distressed, and wishes the subject to be dropped.' She observed him closely, and said I was right, as he took an early opportunity of calling his attention to something else. He soon after left the party. I had an engagement with him the next morning, and the first subject he spoke of was the conversation the night before, and he expressed himself highly offended that a father should, before his own daughters, confess his infidelity, and so far forget himself as to say anything to shake the faith of a female. He added, 'It is more painful to me to argue with sceptics before women, for there is no hope of its leading to good, and there must be pain where it is our duty to give pleasure always; I never permitted religion to be discussed before my daughters or wife.' I can only say that at every visit my admiration of him grew with my intimacy with his mind and actions. He was the most liberal, the most amiable, and the most candid of men. His generosity was unbounded; his most touching politeness was an instinct of his nature; it never left him to his most familiar associates; while he paid just deference to rank, in obedience to the conventional etiquette of society, he honoured above all men the poor gardener whom he met with in some rich establishment in India, who had, uninfluenced by the authority of his superiors, examined the Scriptures, and adopted the faith of the Unity of God. He went to the garden every day to talk with him, and he often said to us, 'I could have

‘taken him in my arms as a brother.’ I called with him on Dr. TUCKERMAN, Mr. DEWEY, and Mr. PHILLIPS, of America, and when he had shaken hands with them he said, with his countenance lighted up with animation, ‘I am so happy to be with Unitarians.’ He did not mix in the sect as some expected, and reflections were often passed upon him. Mr. FOX has touched this with admirable force in his sermon. The object of the Rajah was to mix with and know all sects. One of his greatest desires was to see Catholicism at Rome. He admired the obedience to duties in the Catholics, and always spoke of them in this light with admiration. Whatever faults were mixed with their faith, he recognised in their attention to the poor and sick, the noblest spirit of Christianity. One of the last arguments I heard from him was his defence of them, against one who urged their acting under an artificial stimulus. He contended that what they did was enforced on all, by the very example of Christ; and that the stimulus was their faith in the force and truth of that example.

“But I must stop. When I think that I shall see him no more; that the beauty of his countenance, the picturesqueness of his eastern costume, the kind reception, the noble example of virtues I never felt, at least so powerfully, in others, the hope I had entertained of his future usefulness, the certainty I had of his present happiness, and all his enlarged affections,—when I think that these have passed away for the forever of my brief existence, I feel a sorrow such as I never felt before, and one which can only find consolation in that pure religion of which he was so able a defender. His loss

'has given tenfold value in my mind to his writings, and I have studied them with a subdued feeling since his death, and risen from their perusal with a more confirmed conviction of his having been unequalled in past or present time. Peace to his sacred memory !

"Present my best respects to Miss ACLAND and Dr. CARPENTER, and believe me,

"My dear Sir,

"Sincerely and gratefully yours,

"T. BOOTT."

Dr. BOOTT speaks of accompanying the Rajah to visit Dr. TUCKERMAN, the originator of Domestic Missions, whose devotion to his work had exhausted his physical strength, and led him to seek restoration in our country; Dr. TUCKERMAN was an intimate friend of Dr. CHANNING, with whose spirit he had so long held valued communion. This meeting with one of the most devoted followers of the Saviour, and one who had deeply imbibed his spirit, was afterwards spoken of by the Rajah with deep interest. Its effect on Dr. TUCKERMAN himself was thus described by him in a letter to Dr. CARPENTER :—

"I had interchanged a few letters with that great and excellent man while he was in Calcutta; and had looked with the highest interest to the hour when I should see him in England. And devoutly do I thank our heavenly Father that I was permitted to see him. Before I met him here, he was, however, comparatively only an object to me of exalted admiration. But I had not been an hour with him, before that revelation was made to me of his heart, which called forth the far higher and more

delightful sentiment of *love*. Yes, in the acquaintance of an hour he became to me an object of very high and strong affection ; for I saw in him the most unequivocal evidences of an advancement in Christian piety and virtue,—which I have seen in few, very few, of those who have been born and reared under the strongest lights, and best influences of our religion.”

The following poetical tributes to the Rajah’s memory evidence the deep feeling which his character and death excited :—

THE INTERMENT
OF
THE RAJAH, RAMMOHUN ROY,
AT STAPLETON GROVE.
BY MISS DALE.

No voice, no whisper broke the deep repose,
When to the earth that sacred dust was given ;
All silently the sacrifice arose
From kindling hearts, in one pure flame, to Heaven.
Pure from the sun of righteousness it came
Upon those hearts. Language, to common thought
Interpreter, had dimmed that holy flame ;
Or, with the prism’s power, to sight had brought
The varying hues which human frailty throws
O’er things divine. Oh ! never more misplaced,
Than at that grave where narrow bounds inclose
Him, whose diffusive love had all mankind embraced.

STAPLETON GROVE.

THE RAJAH'S TOMB.

BY MISS ACLAND.

THIS is the spot ! There needs no sculptured line ;
 No column marks the Rajah's lonely tomb ;
 But shadowing elms their drooping boughs incline,
 And shroud his cold remains in sacred gloom.

Yes ; far, from Ganges' consecrated wave,
 Beneath our pallid groves, and northern skies,
 A stranger's hand hath laid thee in thy grave,
 And strangers' tears have wept thine obsequies.

A stranger ? No ; thy "casto" was human kind ;
 Thy home—wherever Freedom's beacon shone ;
 And England's noblest hearts exulting shrined
 The turbaned offspring of a burning zone.

Pure generous mind ! All that was just and true,—
 All that was lovely, holiest, brightest, best—
 Kindled thy soul of eloquence anew,
 And woke responsive chords in every breast.

Sons of the western main around thee hung,
 While Indian lips unfolded Freedom's laws,
 And grateful woman heard the Brahmin's tongue
 Proclaim her worth, and plead her widowed cause.

Ah ! why did Fortune dash, with bitter doom,
 That cup of high communion from thine hand,
 And scatter, darkly withering o'er the tomb,
 The blessings gathered for thy native land ?

Be hushed our murmurs ! He whose voice had won
 Thee, heav'n bound trav'ler, forth from Pagan night,
 In mercy called the trusting spirit on,
 And bade it dwell with Uncreated Light.

Perchance when o'er thy loved paternal bower,
 The Sun of Righteousness shall healing rise,—
 When India's children feel his noon-day power,
 And mingle all in Christian sympathies,—

Hither their pilgrim footsteps duly bound,
 With fervent zeal, these hallowed haunts shall trace,
 And sweetly solemn tears bedew the ground
 Where sleeps the friend and prophet of their race !

—:O:—

THE PRAYER OF RAMMOHUN ROY.

BY MRS. THOMAS WOODFORDE.

In a Park where bounds the fallow deer
 As he scents the fragrant thyme,
 There is a spot where weeping trees
 Lowly to Earth incline.

Stranger ! 'tis not a hermit's cell,
 Or grot, or mimic toy ;—
 It is a grave, where sleepeth well,
 The Brahmin—RAMMOHUN ROY.

A Hindoo brother resteth there,
Far from his caste and home ;
No mausoleum riseth near,
No overshadowing dome !

Alone, his form evanisheth
Into the dust around !—
The faithful soul, that loved so well,
Companionship hath found !

To him dark Superstition's wand
Could not its hate impart ;
It had no power to fuse his brain,
Or petrify his heart.

The mystic Shaster's ancient page
He learned,—and stood dismayed ;
He turned his prayer within his breast,
And *thus* the Brahmin prayed :—

“ Oh, God ! thou know'st—for from thine eye
No thought can be concealed—
The cumbrous book on which I look
Still leaves Thee unrevealed !

“ My God above, yea ! far above,
Whate'er Thy creature sees,
My heart must hope thy voice ne'er spoke
Such fearful threats as these !

“ Forgive me if I dare not think
 To scan Infinity ;
 Though trembling, driven from Thee in Heaven,
 In earth I worship Thee !

“ My human heart all tenderly
 With earthly love o’erflows ;—
 Hence come my fears, my hopes, joys, tears,
 And hence my crimes and woes !

“ A breathing atom of Thine earth,
 Me Nature’s laws oppress ;—
 My spirit weak doth ever seek
 Its kindred earthiness.

“ But thou ! oh ! lovely, living Earth,
 And I, a part of thee,
 In boundless space have destined place
 For dread Eternity !

“ Yes, God doth love his own fair Earth,—
 Blest Hope ! I cling to thee ;
 And the soul He hath sent from Heav’n is lent
 That His Earth may perfect be.

“ O ! Light Divine, that invests my clay,
 Radiance from Him above,
 So burn thy fire that my one desire
 And mission on Earth be—LOVE ! ”

Taunton.

A HYMN,

SUNG AT FINSBURY CHAPEL, MOORFIELDS, AFTER A FUNERAL SERMON

BY THE REV. W. J. FOX,

BY HARRIET MARTINEAU.

Music by Miss Flower.

No faithless tears, O God! we shed
For him who, to Thine altars led,
A swallow from a distant clime,
Found rest beneath the cherubim;
In Thee he rests from toil and pain,
O Father! hear our true Amen.

No faithless tears! Led forth by Thee,
Meek pilgrim to the sepulchre,
For him Thy truth from day to day,
Sprang up and blossomed by the way;
Shalt Thou not claim Thine own again?
O bend to hear our deep Amen!

No faithless tears! Though many dream
To see his face by Ganges' stream;
Though thousands wait on many a shore,
The voice that shall be heard no more;
O, breathe Thy peace amid their pain,
And hear Thy children's loud Amen!

SONNET
ON THE MEMORY
OF
THE RAJAH, RAMMOHUN ROY.

WHEN from afar we saw thy burning light
Rise gloriously o'er India's darkened shore,
In spirit we rejoiced ; and then still more
Rose high our admiration and delight,
When, steadfast to pursue thy course aright,
We saw thee brave fierce persecution's power.—
As yet we knew thee not,—but that blest hour
Which first disclosed thee to our longing sight,
Awakened in us deepest Christian love,
And told us thou hadst sat at Jesus' feet.
But now a glowing halo from above
Circles our thoughts of thee, when to the seat
Of mercy, rapt in ardent prayer, we come,
“ Our Father ! lead Thy wandering children home ! ”

M. C.

BRISTOL,

SUNDAY, *October 27th*, 1833.

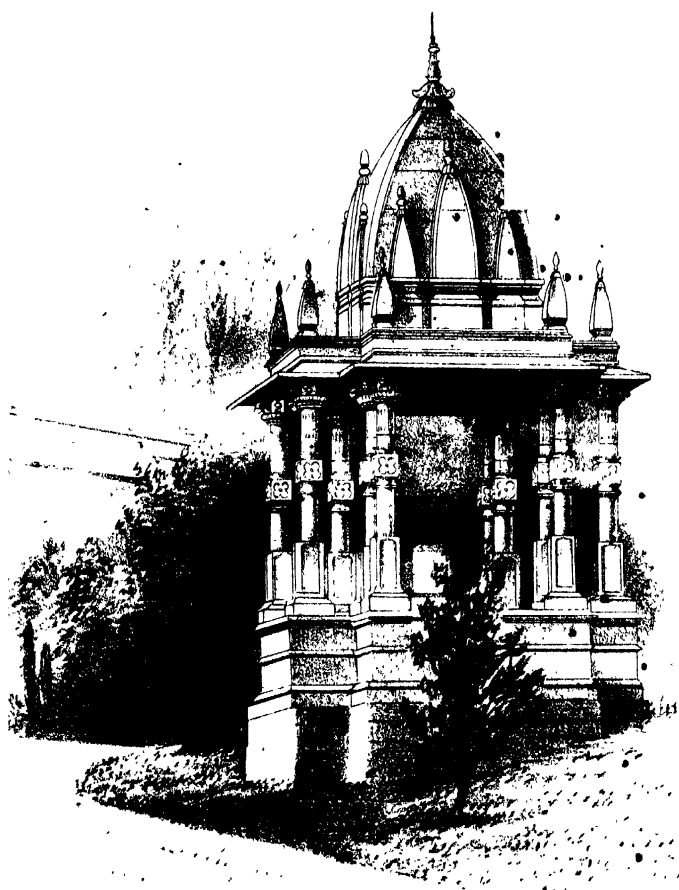
One other tribute remained to be paid to the remains of this great man. Sacred as was the spot where he was laid, and requiring to those who knew and loved him no stone to mark the spot, beneath the overhanging trees, which their hearts revered,—yet it was right that the public should have access to his grave, and should see a befitting monument erected over it. This could not be done at Stapleton Grove, which had now passed out of the CASTLE family. The Rajah's friend, the celebrated DWARKANATH TAGORE, desired to pay this mark of respect to his memory, and it was therefore arranged that the case containing the coffin should be removed to the beautiful cemetery of Arno's Vale, near Bristol. This was suitably accomplished on the 29th of May, 1843, and a handsome monument was erected in the spring of the year following by his friend, the enlightened and celebrated DWARKANATH TAGORE.* A visit was afterwards paid by him to the spot, and recently by his grandson, SATYENDRA NATH TAGORE.†

DWARKANATH TAGORE died also in a strange land, but he lies in a gloomy cemetery in London, Kensal Green, and no tomb befitting his rank has been erected to mark the spot. Surely his remains will be transferred to the spot where rests his noble friend!

Many of the countrymen of the illustrious Brahmin have already visited the spot where reposes all of him

* It is well represented in the accompanying engraving, and attracts considerable attention.

† This gentleman was the first Hindoo who passed the Civil Service Examination, and he now holds office in India.



TOMB OF RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY, AT ARNO'S VALE CEMETERY.

that is mortal, and doubtless all will feel what is beautifully expressed by one of them,—“The place where lies the funeral temple of Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY is a sacred place for Hindoo Pilgrims!” May such a pilgrimage rouse and stimulate those who undertake it to fresh exertions for their country. “The memory of such a man,” writes another, whose words have been already quoted in the preface, “must ever be dear to the Hindoos; and it is the duty of those of our countrymen who can afford to visit England, not to return without paying their tribute of respect to the spot where rest the remains of that illustrious man. To perform this duty we have visited this famous city, which has the honour of possessing the mortal remains of RAMMOHUN ROY. It was the good name of your revered and pious father which brought the Rájá here, and it is that of the latter again which has attracted us here; you can therefore imagine how greatly we must feel the satisfaction of having performed this pilgrimage (if I may so call it), with your kind assistance. We hope that the performance of this duty will stimulate our exertions, and help us on in following the paths of truth and righteousness. My great ambition in life is to be useful to my country, and to do good to others; it is this strong desire that has brought me to this part of the world, in order to seek knowledge, and the acquaintance of the great and the good. Our prayer is that God may give us the power, ability and knowledge, which we may devote to the service of our country. The performance of duty is its own reward, and though our exertions may not

bear any fruit in our lifetime, the thought of having done our *duty* will be the greatest happiness to us. May God hasten the day when all strifes and party feelings will subside,—when sects and castes will merge into *one*, that of *humanity*,—when we shall cease to regard the English, the Hindoo, and the Jew, as belonging to different nations,—and when we shall all sing, the

“FATHERHOOD OF GOD AND BROTHERHOOD OF MAN.”

CHAPTER V.

FUNERAL SERMONS FOR THE RAJAH, RAMMOHUN ROY,

BY

REV. DR. CARPENTER, REV. ROBERT ASPLAND,
REV. DR. DRUMMOND,
REV. J. SCOTT PORTER AND REV. W. J. FOX.

It is probable that in many pulpits there were notices of the mournful event of the Rajah's death. The Rev. Dr. KENNEY, of St. Olave's, Southwark, whose ministry RAMMOHUN ROY had frequently attended, preached a funeral sermon for him at the request of his parishioners; he also wrote a letter to Mr. J. HARE expressive of his warm attachment to the Rajah and high appreciation of his character. Five sermons were printed, and though now out of print, copies are before us; from these we now proceed to give such extracts as will illustrate the character of the Rajah, and show the estimation in which he was held.

The first is from DR. CARPENTER, preached in Lewin's Mead Chapel, Bristol, Oct. the 6th, 1833. It contains a

full review of the labours, opinions and character of the Rajah, and was printed with a number of extracts from his writings, and with the Biographical Memoir at the commencement of this volume. From this pamphlet large extracts have been already made.

Daniel VII., 13, 14.

I SAW IN THE NIGHT VISIONS, AND, BEHOLD, ONE LIKE THE SON OF MAN CAME WITH THE CLOUDS OF HEAVEN, AND CAME TO THE ANCIENT OF DAYS; AND THEY BROUGHT HIM NEAR BEFORE HIM: AND THERE WAS GIVEN HIM DOMINION, AND GLORY, AND A KINGDOM, THAT ALL PEOPLE, NATIONS AND LANGUAGES, SHOULD SERVE HIM: HIS DOMINION IS AN EVERLASTING DOMINION, WHICH SHALL NOT PASS AWAY; AND HIS KINGDOM THAT WHICH SHALL NOT BE DESTROYED.

“This sublime declaration of the prophetic spirit cannot be fulfilled till all the nations of the earth shall form a part of the kingdom of the Messiah; and it will be fulfilled in its completest extent, for ‘it proceeded from HIM who is almighty, eternal, and unchangeable. The Christian believer who has cordial faith in this and other related prophecies, must have the settled unwavering conviction, that the day will come when the knowledge which is ‘life eternal’ shall be diffused into every region, and received into the heart of every rational being, on the face of the earth.

“No one who has a just sense of the value of the Gospel, can be indifferent to the spread of its divine truths, or to the increase of their influence where they are already received. Let the question be fairly put to any who have imbibed its sacred principles; who have seen how it communicates light and guidance, how it raises and refines the

purposes and desires, strengthens in weakness, supports in sorrow, heals the contrite heart, cherishes the best affections, is continually expanding, invigorating, and elevating the understanding, and directing the soul heavenward;—whether they can conceive a more inestimable treasure, or can think it a matter of no moment whether or not others share it with them. He who prays that the kingdom of God may come, and his will be done on earth as it is done in heaven, must, if he pray with the spirit and with the understanding, be solicitous to promote the practical reception of the Gospel; and if, in any good degree, he bear the image of his Lord, he will decline no exertion, nor shun any difficulty or sacrifice, where he has a reasonable prospect that he may thereby promote the great end of God's moral government, the virtue and happiness of his rational offspring. From him whom he views with gratitude as his benefactor, and reverences as his sovereign and judge, he has learnt, that to know, with the knowledge of the heart, 'the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent' 'is life eternal': and if he have himself, as a sinful, dying, accountable creature, experienced, in godly sorrow, its precious promises of divine mercy, its strength in temptation, its guidance in spiritual perplexity, its consolations, its warnings, and its hopes—hopes full of immortality—he will love much; and grateful to him who suffered and died to extend and assure the gracious blessings of the Gospel, and to Him from whose tender mercy they sprang, he will deem it an imperative duty to do what in him lies to enable others to share in those privileges and blessings, and to become faithful subjects of the Messiah's kingdom.

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“There can be no doubt in the mind of him who has

duly considered the declarations of prophecy and the genius of the Christian religion, that it is designed to be universal, both in extent and in duration. Men of the highest intellect have perceived its disclosures expanding as they have themselves advanced in comprehension of mind. As they have ascended the heights of human intelligence, they have discerned more and more of the glories of 'the light of the world'. And it is not conceivable that any period shall arrive, in this state of being, when the Gospel can be regarded, by those who possess and understand its principles and its hopes, as other than 'the pearl of great price', beyond all other gifts of our Heavenly Father of inestimable value.

"In proportion, too, as the minds of men are cultivated with sound knowledge, Christian truth is more readily discernible, and its influences are more effective. Ignorance suits not the spirit of the Gospel, which is 'the spirit of power, and love, and of a sound mind'; and where to ignorance is added the debasing influences of sordid selfishness and pollution, scarcely any thing can raise above the mire of earth. On the other hand, where the understanding is exercised, truth is found to be its best nourishment; and sound knowledge, the healthy food of the soul. The mind is thus prepared for light from heaven; and that light 'shineth more and more unto the perfect day.'

"Many parts of the prophecies are still obscure. To the eye which can only partially discern even the present, that which respects things to come must commonly have something of the darkness or the dimness of futurity. Even those portions which respect things long past, seem full of mystery to those who are little acquainted with the ancient periods of the world, and have not considered the appro-

priate language of prophecy. But if there is any thing clear, explicit, and certain in prophecy, it is, that the time shall come 'when the knowledge of Jehovah shall cover the earth as the waters do the channels of the deep'; when, 'from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, his name shall be exalted among the Gentiles'; when, 'in every place shall be offered to him incense and a pure offering'—the offering of the heart, the sacrifice of the life. The anticipation of this great and glorious result was one of the habitual sentiments of our Lord's prophetic spirit. He looked through darkness, and through evil, towards good unbounded, and in its influences eternal. And this anticipation can scarcely fail to be fixed in the Christian's heart. His Lord 'must reign till all enemies are brought under his feet'. The 'Heathen have been given him for an inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for a possession'. The words of the prophet in my text are singularly impressive and decisive; and they are the more important, because whenever our Saviour applies to himself the appellation 'the Son of Man', we may reasonably understand a tacit reference to them.

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"While many of our Christian brethren were contemplating with intense earnestness, and costfully promoting, the efforts made by Missionaries of their own denomination to spread the Gospel among the Hindoos—as it appeared to us with little success, or, on the system they adopted, well-grounded hope,—the attention of the Unitarians in England and America began to be arrested by the information which came to us from various quarters, that in the British capital of Hindostan a highly-gifted Brahmin had been, for some time, with little knowledge of the Gospel,

preparing the way for its divine light by dispersing the debasing darkness of heathen idolatry; and that he had been endeavouring, with much success, to lead his more intelligent countrymen to the ancient and purer forms of their religion. This was RAMMOHUN ROY. We learnt that long before he had attended to the instructions of Christ, he had attained the faith of Abraham, and worshipped and served the 'one living and true God', without any mixture of idolatry; and that it appeared likely to be his honour to contribute effectually, even if indirectly, to the diffusion of faith in Christ, partly by his personal labours, and partly by his coöperation with others—his countenance and his aid in their exertions. These labours were directed to the exposure of the evils of the prevalent faith of his countrymen; and particularly to the extension of that knowledge respecting the Supreme and Eternal Creator, which their most ancient 'scriptures' taught, in language that is not surpassed, in sublimity and truth, even by that of Moses and the Prophets;—often blended, however, with much that is mystical; and with much also that was calculated to lead away from the truth, or, at least, to furnish a pretext to the grovelling soul—in process of time abundantly and banefully employed—to direct its adorations to the manifestations of the attributes of the Supreme Being, and to worship HIM who is the invisible, eternal, universal, and ever-present Spirit, under numberless forms of created intelligences, or of the beasts of the earth, or of things without intelligence or life.

"Several of the Brahmin's productions, with this object in view, principally designed for his own countrymen, came into my hands, now twelve years ago: but at least six or eight years before that period, he had made and exten-

sively circulated translations of the Hindoo sacred writings, and afterwards abridgments of them; and there is no doubt that great and important benefits have arisen from these publications among the cultivated and inquiring part of his countrymen, whose minds, trained by their native learning and knowledge to a great degree of acuteness and refinement, had become disgusted with the degrading nature and influences of the ceremonies and worship of their own people, yet were impressed with strong repugnance at the prevailing representations of Christian doctrine, which was increased, there is reason to believe, by the extreme absence, at that period, in British society in general, of the ordinary indications of any deep sense of religion. These publications contain numerous passages which are well fitted to elevate the sentiments, and to attract those whose hearts were already elevated; while, in their mode of expression, and in the reverence with which the Hindoos are accustomed to regard these writings, as proceeding from the Deity and themselves in part possessed of deity, they are more fitted than our scriptures, *as a whole*, for the *earliest* periods of departure from the popular opinions of the Hindoos.

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“The absolute unity, unrivalled supremacy, sole worship, and essential mercy of the only true God, are too strongly asserted in RAMMOHUN ROY’s writings, and were too unequivocally maintained by him in conversation, to leave any doubt as to his doctrinal opinions on those points. He repeatedly told me and others that he never introduced his opinions unnecessarily; but that when the subject was introduced he never hesitated to avow them: and of his entire

disbelief in the doctrine of the trinity, of the incarnation, &c., we have abundant assurance. In his replies to the Missionaries who attacked his selections from the instructions of Christ, he also developes his views respecting the person of our Lord. That he regarded him as entirely subordinate to the Supreme Being, and dependent upon him, for all his high powers and authority, must be obvious to every one who peruses that remarkable controversy. He dwells, with peculiar earnestness and satisfaction, on the conclusion he had attained respecting the nature of that unity which subsisted between Christ and his heavenly Father—the unity of design, of affection, of operation—such as existed between his disciples and himself. On all these points, which alone are essential to Unitarianism, he agrees with the Unitarian. In those treatises, however, he also speaks of our Saviour as præexistent, and as employed in the creation of the natural world; in which he differs from the great bulk of contemporary Unitarians, more nearly approaching to the sentiments of the excellent Dr. PRICE. From the conversations which I had with him in the later part of his life, I believe that he was more disposed to regard that præexistence as only in the divine purposes; and the creating logos, not as Christ himself, but as that divine power which wrought in and by him. But however this may be, he was undoubtedly a Unitarian; and he has repeatedly said, when not among members of the Unitarian sect, 'My heart is with the Unitarians'.

"As to his Christian belief—the only ground for uncertainty arose from the assertions, on the one hand, of those who will not allow the claims of the Unitarian to the appellation Christian, because he does not receive those doctrines which he firmly believes to be without foundation

in the instructions of Christ and his Apostles; or, on the other, of those who have misunderstood the nature of the ground on which the Brahmin's convictions most rested, the manner in which he spoke of doctrines which they themselves always associated with Christian belief and deemed essential to it, and the caution with which he habitually avoided all public expression of the adoption of Christianity by those personal acts which would have been regarded by Christians in general as a renunciation of his ancient faith, and probably employed by his enemies in India to lessen his influence and to injure his interests. He never was baptized, though applied to for the purpose by the direction of some of the highest dignitaries of the Established Church: he could not have been baptized into the Trinitarian faith. He might have been baptized into Unitarian Christianity, without renouncing what he regarded as the pure doctrine of Hindooism respecting the Supreme Being; but his system prevented him from engaging in the positive rites of any sect of Christians. While he maintained his caste as a Brahmin, he had an acknowledged right to instruct his countrymen in the doctrines of their religion, which he maintained to have been, in its purest and most ancient form, monotheism in faith and in worship, and to which he laboured, in many cases effectually, to lead his fellow-Brahmins. The acknowledgement of the divine authority of Christ is, in itself, in no way inconsistent with the maintenance of their ancient faith; for as Moses and the Prophets had done, Christ and his Apostles taught the same. We have in his controversy with the Baptist Missionaries (before the attempt made to deprive him of his caste,) the clear declarations of his belief that 'Jesus of Nazareth' was 'the

Christ of God', that 'he was sent with a divine law to guide mankind by his preaching and example', that he received from the Supreme Being 'a commission to come into the world for the salvation of mankind', and that he was, by Him, 'empowered to perform wonderful works.' This belief, however, he rested, as we have learned from himself, less on those wonderful works, than on the internal proofs derived from the excellence of our Saviour's instructions respecting the character of God and the duty and welfare of man, and from the circumstances attending the first promulgation of the Gospel; and he laid little stress upon miracles as a means of converting his countrymen, from their being so much accustomed to miraculous relations in reference to those deities whom they were called upon to renounce. But though the elements of his faith, or the grounds on which he held it, might not agree with those of Christians in general, I am, in the recollection of several residents in this city or its neighbourhood, of the first respectability for character and intellectual attainments, and of various religious persuasions, correct when I say, that, less than a week before his last illness began, he expressed his belief in the divine origin of our Lord's instructions, in his miracles, and in his resurrection from the dead. On this great fact, indeed, he declared that his own expectation of a resurrection rested. 'If I did not believe in the resurrection of Christ', were his emphatic words, 'I should not believe in my own'. Believing as he certainly did in this essential fundamental fact of Christianity, you may term him what you please—I have no hesitation in saying that he was a Christian.

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“As to his more direct services to Christianity, I view them as of vastly more importance than has yet, perhaps, been developed. It is no slight service, that he has rendered a large portion of the recorded teachings of Christ accessible to his countrymen, in their sacred language, the Sanscrit, and in the ordinary language of Bengal. Perplexed himself with the various doctrines insisted upon by the teachers of Christianity, he sought for the essential characteristics of this religion—its moral system, its sanctions, and its promises—in the words of Christ himself; and these he presented to the Hindoo public in the way which he deemed most ‘likely to produce the desirable effect of improving the hearts and minds of men, of different persuasions and degrees of understanding.’ ‘This simple code of religion and morality (he says at the end of his Introduction) is so admirably calculated to elevate men’s ideas to high and liberal notions of one God, who has equally subjected all living creatures, without distinction of caste, rank, or wealth, to change, disappointment, pain, and death, and has equally admitted all to be partakers of the bountiful mercies which he has lavished over nature; and is also so well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to God, to themselves, and to society; that I cannot but hope the best effects from its promulgation in the present form.’

“One would have thought that the Christian Missionaries would have hailed the learned and excellent Brahmin as their fellow-labourer, and as at least preparing the way for that knowledge of Christ which they thought essential to his Gospel. True it is that he did not introduce into the ‘Precepts of Jesus’ the narration of our Lord’s miracles:

but the purpose of the miracles was answered if any were led without them to the same end—the reception of Jesus Christ as a heaven-sent teacher, and the disposition to receive his words as the words of truth, and the guide of heart and life; and the Brahmin thought such narrations less likely to affect the minds of his countrymen, than the simple records of Christ's instructions. He knew that the Saviour hath declared that he that doeth the will of his Heavenly Father, was to him as a brother, or sister, or mother: and he expressed his conviction that the sayings of Christ which he had presented to his countrymen, are those 'the obedience to which is so absolutely commanded as indispensable and all-sufficient to those who desire eternal life'; that they 'include every duty of man and all that is necessary to salvation', while 'they expressly exclude mere profession or belief from those circumstances which God graciously admits as giving a title to eternal happiness'; and that there is not, in the New Testament, any commandment 'similarly enjoining a knowledge of the mysteries or historical relations contained in those books'. But it is an immense advance when any are led from the degrading forms and disgusting and cruel practices of heathen idolatry to the reception of the only true God, and to seek for the words of eternal life in the instructions of Jesus Christ. Even if they were only brought near to the kingdom of God, he who presented the means of this progress, and in a way that he deemed more likely than others to affect their minds, should surely have been received with conciliatory encouragement; and perceiving—as his previous writings showed—that he had a mind open to truth, it would have been wise calmly to present to him the means

of greater light, and to await its effects, without attempting to thwart or to oppose his progress. But his reception by the Missionaries 'surprised and disappointed' him; and he appears to have had some reason to complain of a want of candour and liberality towards him. The attack had, however, a highly beneficial effect: it led him to mature his views of Christian truth; and to discern, by close examination of the Scriptures, what are the real doctrines of Christ and his Apostles. His First and Second Appeals especially (and also, though more directly critical, and more influenced by English controversial works, his Final Appeal,) present the extraordinary efforts, and most important researches, of a mind faithfully seeking for light, and coming to the Scriptures with no other prepossessions than those which arose from views respecting the Supreme Being which Christianity had only to extend and establish. In addition to a remarkable critical skill, they display the sagacity of a clear and acute understanding, guided by the love of truth and duty, and illuminated by devotion, and by sentiments respecting the character and dispensations of the supreme and universal Parent which perfectly harmonized with all the spontaneous dictates of his pious and benevolent spirit. I persuade myself that the reasonings and representations of the Brahmin will yet lead many Christians to review their own conclusions; and assist them to discern that the faith required for the benefits of the Gospel, is perfectly accordant with the dictates of a sound understanding: while, at the same time, the beautiful manifestations of his charity, humility, and benevolence, may contribute to improve them in the spirit which the Gospel requires.

“His enlarged and benignant spirit, the tenderness and purity of his own heart, the maternal love which he had experienced, and the influences of that soothing kindness which he had received from the women of Thibet when he was separated from the endearments of home, aided (I repeat it) to produce in his mind those sentiments of respect for woman in her domestic and social and moral relations, which entirely raised him above the narrow and degrading views entertained of the female sex by his countrymen in general; and which led him to contribute, in various ways, to the just appreciation of them, and to their protection from the sordid purposes and superstitious zeal of those who degraded them by debasing rites and practices, and condemned them to self-immolation. He regarded a woman, whether considered as an intellectual or as a spiritual being, as fitted, by natural powers and capabilities, to be the companion, the friend, and the helper of man. In all this his sentiments admirably coincided with the genius of the Gospel, and with the spirit and conduct of its benevolent Author; and it is no unreasonable supposition, that the perception of this characteristic of the Christian system contributed to his interest in our Scriptures, which record the most affecting instances of the reverential attachment of devout women to the Saviour, and their devoted faithfulness when even his disciples deserted him; and which present various indications of the readiness of the female sex to receive his heavenly truths, and to labour for the diffusion of them among mankind.

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“Such was the illustrious person whose removal from an extensive field of usefulness we feel to be a call for trust and submission; and such the nature and extent of

his labours in it. Premature we might be tempted to think his summons from life, while the powers of his mind were in their vigour, and while his sources of enjoyment and of self-improvement were so great, in the intercourses of friendship and affection, in the honour and attachment of wise and good men of all ranks and of all persuasions, in the engagements of kindness and benevolence, in the perception of the effects of his labours of patriotism and philanthropy, in the pursuit of truth, the study of scripture, and the exercise of piety: but the future is unknown; and God's time is best. Protracted life might have displayed, in languor and exhaustion, if not in depression, the natural effects, on a frame like his, of a long course of that arduous toil and often severe conflict, which had been occasioned by his own beneficent purposes, or by the harassing opposition and even hostility of others. He might have had unlooked for trials of faith and patience, in the slow and sometimes interrupted operation of those causes of good to his country which his comprehensive and ardent mind must have viewed as now effectually commenced. At any rate, he has sunk to rest in the midst of affection and respect, with all those purposes carried into effect which had been his object through life; and could we have known the thoughts of his heart, when he believed the hour of his departure approaching, I am persuaded that we should have found, blended with them, the emotions of devout thankfulness—which now fill our hearts—that he had lived so long, and that his toils and his conflicts had not been in vain.

“They have not been in vain; and the tomb does not terminate their efficacy. The influence of his personal example and of his instructions will be felt impressively among many who have witnessed and received them. • His

writings will be more read and appreciated. Those who have been already acquainted with them, will review them with that new interest which the mournful thought produces, that he whose intelligence and benevolence dictated them, is now among the dead. The purposes of his exertions will, in the heart of many a one, receive a new impulse from the consideration that all who valued him for them and are able to promote them, are bound to do what they can to supply the loss of his efforts and his counsels.

In many and various ways his great objects may be carried into effect, with an influence derived from the termination of his course, which the misinterpretation of his motives, or a wrong estimate of his mode of accomplishing them, or the belief that it peculiarly rested with him to effect them, might have contributed to prevent. The spirit under which he obviously laboured will transfuse itself into the hearts of others who have those objects in view; and his writings will aid the wise and benevolent in promoting them. 'Though dead he yet speaketh'; and the voice will be heard impressively from the tomb, which, in his life, may have excited only the passing emotions of admiration or respect.

"That voice may be heard by his intelligent Hindoo friends and other onlightened Brahmins. It may excite them to renewed and increased efforts to carry on the work of intellectual and moral improvement among their countrymen: to diffuse the purer light of religion which his writings contain, among those who are yet debased and superstitious: to give the advantages of a wise education to the young and uninformed: to rise themselves, and teach others to rise, above the narrow prejudices of caste and sect; and thereby weaken that thralldom which so much

interrupts the progress of truth and virtue; and elevate, by knowledge and a just appreciation, those who may thus be the friends and companions of the present generation, and whose early instructions and training will so much promote the welfare of the next: to coöperate with the benevolent efforts of the British Government for the welfare of their country; and by giving the system adopted the aids they may effectually afford it, prepare for the extension and increase of the advantages which benevolent wisdom has in view. May we not hope, too, that his example will lead the best and most enlightened among the Hindoos to study, and thence to value, those Scriptures which he habitually studied and valued? And, perceiving, as he has practically shown them, that the religion of Christ requires no renunciation, in faith and worship, of the purest and most ancient principles of their own, to follow him in this respect also, and to receive themselves, and lead others to receive, the instructions of Jesus as the guide to peace and happiness? If such should be the results, his death will be blessed to their highest interests, and to those of their countrymen at large.

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“To all of us, the rapid progress of fatal disease, by which he has unexpectedly been called from life to whose intercourse we had here looked forwards with so much earnestness and hope, presents a fresh warning as to the uncertainty of life. The voice speaketh from his tomb, and urges us to work the work of life while it is day. His example, too, may well strengthen our desire to work that work faithfully, and as those who are to give an account. A strong sense of responsibility influenced him in the course which Providence marked out for him. The

spirit of benevolence, of humility, and of piety, dwelt in his heart. You learned not from himself, except by casual expressions, or in reply to direct inquiries, what he had done for mankind, in respect to their temporal and spiritual well-being; but on reviewing it for ourselves, we see that it claims our admiration and our deep respect. He sought the blessing of God on his work, and pursued this as an accountable being; and we may well say that the blessing of God has rested upon it for great and important good.

“‘Servant of God! farewell! thy work is o’er’. Thou hast been summoned to that rest which remaineth for the people of God, and we shall soon commit thee to the silent tomb; but it will be with the hope of meeting thee again, when this mortal shall put on immortality, and that which is sown in weakness, shall be raised in power and glory. Thy honoured remains will not repose in ground that has been consecrated by human ceremonial, or even by the exclusive employment of it as the abode of the dead; but they will themselves hallow the spot where they rest, and it will be endeared by the remembrance of thy benignity, thine affection, and thy friendship. Never will be effaced from our memory the beamings of thy countenance, and the mild accents of thy voice; and by all who knew thee, will thy name be loved and revered.—‘Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord; they rest from their labours; and their works follow them’. The influences of thy labours, thine instructions, thy example, are still with us; and these will render thee still the guide and the benefactor of thy race. As respects others, thy labour will not be in vain; and as respects thyself, thou art awaiting thy reward. The day will come when the Lord of Christians will call thee from the tomb; and then, I doubt not, wilt thou hear the

approving words addressed to thee, 'Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord!'

"God grant, my hearers, that a like blessedness may be our lot; that we may faithfully improve our talents for usefulness to others and our own spiritual well-being; and that, when the Lord of Christians shall call us and all men from the tomb, we may receive the blessed welcome, and be admitted into the joy of our Lord."

On the same Sunday, the Rev. R. ASPLAND preached a funeral sermon in the New Gravel Pit Meeting, Hackney, where the Rajah had not unfrequently been a listener. A large portion of the sermon consists of biographical notices of the Rajah, and extracts from his writings, which had been already presented to the public by Dr. CARPENTER. It was, therefore, not intended for publication. Mr. ASPLAND states in the preface that "he considered the sermon preached upon the occasion by his respected friend Dr. CARPENTER, of Bristol, to be the proper funeral tribute to the memory of the Rajah; and this he hoped, and still hopes, to see published, especially as Dr. CARPENTER was in frequent intercourse with the illustrious deceased, during his last days, and enjoyed, besides, peculiar opportunities of acquiring an exact knowledge of his life and opinions. But an edition of the sermon having made its appearance (printed, it is supposed, from notes taken at the time of delivery), without the sanction of the author, no alternative is left to him, unless he could consent to

bear the imputation of putting out a mean and illiterate publication, in reference to a name entitled to every outward mark of respect." On the title page of the sermon are the appropriate lines of the poet of *Paradise Lost and Regained* :—

" One man except, the only son of light,
In a dark age, against example good,
Against allurement, custom, and a world
Offended."

• The subject of the sermon is "The future accession of good men of all climes to Christianity, and their final congregation in heaven." Mr. ASPLAND thus pre-faced it,—

"Judging that it would not be uncongenial with the feelings of the congregation, nor presumptuous on my part, nor, perhaps, wholly unserviceable to the cause of Christian truth, I ventured last Sunday morning to announce that I should adapt the present discourse to the melancholy event of the somewhat sudden and, according to the course of nature, premature decease of our distinguished oriental visitor, Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY; the rather, as he was an occasional worshipper in this House of Prayer, and repeatedly expressed that he felt a deep interest in this congregation. On that occasion, I stated that I did not meditate a mere eulogy upon the departed Brahmin. My object is to represent him as, with my means of knowledge, I consider him to have been, and to describe his religious character and profession as it appeared to myself, and to others that had still better means of forming a correct opinion. His condition in relation to Christianity was so peculiar; his rank and acquirements

and labours justly attracted to him so much public attention; and so many contradictory statements have been made of his religious views, that it cannot be regarded as an indelicate or uninteresting inquiry, whether he embraced the gospel entirely and unreservedly, and what was his decision amidst the conflicting theories of Christian sects upon the true scheme of doctrine propounded in the Christian Scriptures. My answer to this inquiry will be anticipated from the words which I shall now read as a text,—the groundwork of some observations not, I trust, foreign from the subject. You will find the words in

Matthew VIII., 11.

AND I SAY UNTO YOU, THAT MANY SHALL COME FROM THE EAST AND WEST, AND SHALL SIT DOWN WITH ABRAHAM, AND ISAAC, AND JACOB, IN THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN.

“The speaker is our Lord. He was now acting in his great and delightful character of a Comforter and a Saviour, and his gracious prediction was uttered upon the contemplation of an extraordinary degree of faith and piety in one from whom they might have been least expected, a Roman centurion or captain, who improved the opportunity of his military employment in the Holy Land to inquire after true religion, and whose inquiry terminated in his abandonment of the idolatry of his fathers and his adoption of the pure Jewish worship.

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“It would seem to follow of necessity from the admission of the gospel as the power of God and the wisdom of God, that the more earnestly and diligently it is studied, the better it will be understood and the more highly valued;

that the pleasure derived from it will be in proportion to the love of it, from a knowledge of its fitness and excellence; that oneness with its spirit and obedience to its requirements will always go together; and that the union of faith and virtue is the only qualification for the perfect enjoyment of its promised blessings in that world where faith will be turned into sight, but where charity never faileth.

“These are solemnly important conclusions. They should impel us, on the one hand, to inquire seriously into the truth of God by Christ, lest by our own indolence and worldly-mindedness we fail of discovering the pearl of great price; and, on the other hand, to take a willing part in all wise and sincere efforts for the promotion of the moral and spiritual improvement of the world, and to hail with disinterested fervour, and to embrace with fraternal love, all the wise and good, whether from the east or the west, from the north or the south, who enter into the church of Christ with minds enlightened by the wisdom from above, and hearts purified by the influence of divine truth, praying and seeking only for glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, good-will to men.

“We shall thus, my Christian friends, be prepared to unite with the multitude that no man can number, out of every kindred, tribe, tongue and people, and from every dispensation of light,—with patriarchs and prophets, apostles and martyrs, who, their warfare accomplished, their affections wholly sanctified and their spirits perfected, will sit down in heavenly places with Him after whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, to pursue divine knowledge, to exercise universal love, to taste pure bliss, and to proclaim eternally growing gratitude to the

Almighty Father, blessed in himself and blessed, too, in all his creatures for evermore.

"To apply the subject to the occasion. There has been recently taken from the earth one to whom many of our humble observations, to whom I solemnly believe the sublime words of our Lord, apply; a rare, perhaps an unparalleled instance of a man who, by the virtuous use of great talents and splendid acquirements, under the divine providence and grace, delivered his own spirit from the enthrallment of idolatry, and entered by degrees into the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

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"None can deny that our departed Christian brother was an extraordinary man, whether we consider his intellectual energies, his moral qualities, or his theological attainments. Centuries may intervene before his equal in all respects shall rise up in Hindostan, so bright a light shining in so dark a place. He is a memorable example to the world of what an individual may accomplish by firmness of purpose, diligence, perseverance, fortitude, disinterestedness and candour, in the acquirement of truth, amidst the greatest disadvantages, and the diffusion of truth, amidst opposition and reproach. Would that they could be warned by his example, who, with all the opportunities of improvement around them, neither inquire nor think, neither instruct nor are instructed, lay down no error and acquire no truth, and, except as far as self-interest prompts, meditate no one good service to their fellow creature.

"The name of RAMMOHUN ROY will endure as long as the history of religious truth. It is already, in part, and will hereafter be generally cherished in both hemispheres, in that which is distinguished by his birth, and in this,

which will, it is now probable, have the boast of keeping his honoured relics : *here*, he will be celebrated for breaking the first link of the long chain which has pressed down the heart of his country to the dust ; *at home*, when India shall stretch out her hands to the true God, he will be revered as the first of her reformers and philanthropists. And more than this, and above all earthly fame, may we not gather from the promises of the gospel, this morning imperfectly expounded, that when the Throne shall be set, and the books shall be opened, and the dead, from both sea and land, shall be judged out of those things that are written in the books, according to their works, his name will be found in the Book of Life, and the Son of Man will welcome him, with all the righteous, into his Heavenly Father's kingdom ! Even so. Amen."

Mr. ASPLAND gives in notes to his sermon the following statements, which were probably derived from the article in the "Athenæum" :—

"Mr. ARNOT says, that during the greater part of the period of RAMMOHUN ROY's residence at Calcutta, 'the whole powers of his mind were directed to the vindication of the doctrine of the unity of God. In this, he maintained the sacred books of Hindus and Mussulmans, Jews and Christians, agreed ; and that all apparent deviations from it were modern corruptions. He propagated it day and night, by word and writing, with the zeal of an apostle and the self-devotion of a martyr. He was ever ready to maintain it against all gainsayers, from the believer in thirty-three millions of gods to the denier of one : for both extremes are common in the East. The writer remembers finding him at his Garden House, near Calcutta, one

evening, about seven o'clock, closing a dispute with one of the followers of Budh, who denied the existence of a Deity. The Rajah had spent the whole day in the controversy, without stopping for food, rest or refreshment, and rejoicing more in confuting one atheist than in triumphing over a hundred idolaters: the credulity of the one he despised; the scepticism of the other he thought pernicious; for he was deeply impressed with the importance of religion to the virtue and happiness of mankind."

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"‘There were,’ says Mr. ARNOTT, in the ‘Athenæum,’ ‘three maxims in politics, in ethics, and in religion, which he often repeated; with these I shall sum up this brief sketch of his life and character. The first he expressed in an Arabic sentence, *Inshān abid ul ihsan*: ‘Man is the slave of benefits.’ The second, a couplet from the Anwari Scheili, which will be found in many a fair lady’s album: ‘The enjoyment of the two worlds (this and the next) rests on these two points; kindness to friends, civility to enemies.’ And the third, from the philosophic Sadi—which he often repeated, and often expressed a wish to have inscribed on his tomb:

‘THE TRUE WAY OF SERVING GOD IS TO DO GOOD TO MAN.’

“Amen: so let it be: the religious reformer of the Hindus could not have a more appropriate epitaph.”

Though the Rajah had not been able to visit Ireland, yet the Sister Isle was not uninterested in the visit of the Hindoo Reformer, and on October 27th, 1833, a sermon was preached in the Presbyterian Church of Strand Street, Dublin, on occasion of his death, by the

Rev. WILLIAM HAMILTON DRUMMOND, D.D., which was published by special request. "The Rajah received addresses," Dr. DRUMMOND states, "from Ireland, particularly from Belfast and Cork, and a gentleman of this city was commissioned by the Irish Unitarian Society to invite him to a public entertainment. It was accordingly his intention to pay this country a visit. He seemed to take a deep interest in the affairs of Ireland, and I can state on the unquestionable authority of a friend, who was frequently in his society in London, that in the course of a month after his arrival, he had acquired such an intimate knowledge of its statistics, politics and religion, as might almost justify the belief that he had long been directing his exclusive attention to those subjects of enquiry." The following are extracts from Dr. DRUMMOND'S sermon, which was entitled "A learned Indian in search of religion" :—

Psalm LXXXVI., 8, 9, 10.

AMONG THE GODS THERE IS NONE LIKE UNTO THEE, O LORD!

NEITHER ARE THERE ANY WORKS LIKE THY WORKS. ALL NATIONS WHOM THOU HAST MADE SHALL COME AND WORSHIP BEFORE THEE, O LORD; AND SHALL GLORIFY THY NAME—FOR THOU ART GREAT, AND DOEST WONDROUS THINGS: THOU ART GOD ALONE.

"Yes—JEHOVAH is God alone, and all attempts to raise up any god beside God the Father, are as impotent as would be the attempt to sap the foundations of the earth, or pluck the sun from his orbit. His works, through all their boundless variety and amplitude, declare him, by the

unity of their design, to be ONE. The voice of Revelation, through all the rich diversity of her communications, declares him to be ONE. The great legislator of the Jews, their kings, their prophets, the inspired apostles; the blessed Saviour himself, he who was filled with the Spirit of the Most High—all declare him to be ONE. This is the conclusion at which the wisest and best of men, in all ages and countries, who have faithfully followed the twin lights of nature and revelation, have arrived. The light of nature and the light of revelation flow in parallel lines from the same great fountain of everlasting truth. The latter shines with a brighter and more intense ray than the former—but they never cross each other's path, nor stream in opposite directions; nay, they may be said to blend and mingle together, as the rays of heat, and of colour, in the solar beam, to produce one white and brilliant illumination. The God of nature is the God of revelation; and it is impossible that by the voice of the one he can contradict what he has uttered by the voice of the other. What nature has spoken, revelation has repeated in more audible sounds. The aspirations of nature in the soul of man after a holier, happier, state of being, are re-echoed by revelation; and nature's 'longings after immortality,' are cherished and exalted into a lively faith in the resurrection from the dead, by that 'gospel, which hath brought life and immortality to light.'

* * * *

"Of the character of the excellent Rajah, intellectual, moral, religious, there seems to be only one opinion among all those whose opinion merits consideration. As for what may be thought or said of him by those, and such no doubt there are, who because he could not embrace their peculiar

doctrines, would still denominate him a heathen, it is unworthy of a moment's notice. Would that but one little shred of his Christianity were shared among them, it would make them better Christians than ever they are likely to become with their ignorant and malevolent bigotry! We have the testimony, not only of friends to his religious views, but of some who were opposed to them, that he was pious, and good, and learned, and wise, and patriotic, and generous, and disinterested. In fact, I cannot at this moment recollect the name of any individual, since the days of the apostles, that has so preeminent a claim to the title of Christian.

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“The accession of such a convert as the Rajah to the truth of Christianity, should, we might suppose, be hailed with exultation by all his friends, and especially by those employed in missionary labours, though his opinions did not altogether harmonize with theirs. But no, such is the spirit of bigotry—such the effect of entertaining narrow views of Christianity, and making it consist, not in ‘meat and drink’ indeed, but in something still worse, in the belief of doctrines which shock reason, and impeach the justice and mercy of the Father of all—that it would rather such converts as he had remained still immersed in the idolatries, and abominations, from which he had escaped! That a Brahmin of such high character, so distinguished for strong intellectual powers—for superior mental cultivation—for such patient and persevering industry in the study of languages to aid him in the search after truth—that such a man should strip off the prejudices of education, should renounce the popular superstitions of his country, under the severe penalty of incurring the hostility of his

relatives and friends, and at the no small risk of losing his paternal property, and most dreadful of all, of losing *caste*, which, as you well know, is to the Hindoo a grievance more terrible than excommunication in the Roman Catholic Church—that such a man, under such circumstances, should come forward to avow his belief in Christianity at all, ought surely to be a subject of rejoicing to every one who feels a real interest in the extension of the Saviour's kingdom.

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“Such was the learned Indian's high veneration for the sacred Scriptures, that he refused to receive any doctrine, as a doctrine of religion, which they have not revealed. He gave the decrees of Councils and Fathers to the winds, and taking the word of God as his only true guide and instructor, asserted with it, the divine unity, in opposition to all Tritheism and Polytheism.

“‘It is my reverence for Christianity,’ says he, in his Second Appeal (p. 304), ‘and for the author of this religion, that has induced me to endeavour to vindicate it from the charge of Polytheism, as far as my limited capacity and knowledge extend. It is indeed mortifying to my feelings, to find a religion that from its sublime doctrines and pure morality should be respected above all other systems, reduced almost to a level with Hindoo theology, merely by human creeds and prejudices; and from this cause brought to a comparison with the paganism of ancient Greece, which while it included a plurality of Gods, yet maintained that *Θεός ἐστις ἓς*, or ‘God is one,’ and that their numerous divine *persons* were all comprehended in that one Deity.’

“‘Having derived my own opinions on this subject entirely from the Scriptures themselves, I may perhaps be excused for the confidence with which I maintain them against those of so great a majority, who appeal to the same authority for theirs; inasmuch as I attribute the different views, not to any inferiority of judg-

'ment compared with my own limited ability, but to the powerful effect of early religious impressions; for when these are deep, reason is seldom allowed its natural scope in examining them to the bottom. Were it a practice among Christians to study first the books of the Old Testament as found arranged in order, and to acquire a knowledge of the true force of scriptural phrases and expressions, without attending to interpretations given by any sect; and then to study the New Testament, comparing the one with the other, Christianity would not any longer be liable to be encroached on by human opinions.' (304, 305.)

"Again he observes, in his Final Appeal, 'The doctrine of the Trinity appears to me so obviously unscriptural, that I am pretty sure, from my own experience and that of others, that no one possessed of merely common sense, will fail to find its unscripturality, after a methodical study of the Old and New Testaments, unless previously impressed in the early part of his life with creeds and forms of speech preparing the way to that doctrine.'

"The Rajah attributes that prevalence of belief in the Trinity, which exists in Christendom, to the same causes as those which perpetuate and establish Hindooism in the East,—the force of early impressions.

"The minds of youths, and even infants, being once thoroughly impressed with the name of the Trinity in Unity and Unity in Trinity, long before they can think for themselves, must be always inclined, even after their reason has become matured, to interpret the sacred books, even those texts which are evidently inconsistent with this doctrine, in a manner favourable to their prepossessed opinion, whether their study be continued for three, or thirty, or twice thirty years. Could Hindooism continue after the present generation, or bear the studious examination of a single year, if the belief of their idols being endued with animation were not carefully impressed on the young before they come to years of understanding?' (355.)

"Having in another place noticed some facts in Mosheim, and shewn how some nominal converts to Christianity

came to pass a decree constituting Christ one of the persons of the Godhead, he says,

"These facts coincide entirely with my own firm persuasion of the impossibility, that a doctrine so inconsistent with the evidence of the senses as that of three persons in one being, should ever gain the sincere assent of any one, into whose mind it has not been instilled in early education. Early impressions alone can induce a Christian to believe that three are one and one is three; just as by the same means a Hindoo is made to believe that millions are one, and one is millions; and to imagine that an inanimate idol is a living substance, and capable of assuming various forms. As I have sought to attain the truths of Christianity from the words of the author of this religion, and from the undisputed instructions of his holy apostles, and not from a parent or tutor, I cannot help refusing my assent to any doctrine which I do not find scriptural.

"Noble, magnanimous declaration! Would that those who pride themselves on their exclusive right to the name of Christian, were to profit by this example!

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"Having, during the progress of this discourse, been under the painful necessity of animadverting on the illiberality of some of the Rajah's opponents, it is with no small satisfaction that I turn to the agreeable task of shewing that his character and views were highly appreciated, not only by that denomination of Christians who claim him as their own, but by liberal and enlightened members of other denominations. A striking instance of this occurs in the dedication to him of a sermon entitled 'Charity, the greatest of the Christian graces,' by the Rev. RICHARD WARNER, Rector of Great Chalfied, Wilts, 1832. The letter dedicatory runs thus,—

"RAJAH!—Allow me to introduce the following sermon to the notice of the public under the auspices of 'your respected and respectable name.'

"The epithets are appropriate, not so much on account of the condition, fortune, or talent (distinguished as they may be) of the person to whom they are applied, as for the deep interest which he takes in the happiness of his fellow-creatures, and for the labours in which he exercises himself for the diffusion of the LIGHT OF CHRISTIANITY, and the promotion of EVANGELICAL LOVE among an hundred millions of his countrymen, immersed in spiritual darkness, or drunken with intolerant superstition!

"Rajah! never shall I forget the long and profoundly interesting conversation which passed between us a few days ago, on subjects the most important to the comfort and peace of mankind, here, and their felicity hereafter;—nor will the noble declaration fade from my recollection—that 'you were not only ready to sacrifice station, property, and even life itself, to the advancement of a religion, which (in its genuine purity and simplicity) proved its descent from the *God of Love*, by its direct tendency to render mankind happy, in both a present and a future world; but that you should consider the abstaining from such a course, as the non-performance of one of the *highest duties* imposed upon rational, social and accountable man!

"Rajah! a 'door' of the most extensive usefulness is 'opened' to you by DIVINE PROVIDENCE, *macte virtute esto*. Go on as you have begun! and may God prosper your benevolent endeavours to spread through the fairest, but most benighted portion of the earth's surface, THE KNOWLEDGE OF CHRIST AND THE PRACTICE OF CHRISTIAN CHARITY.

"I am, Rajah,

"Your friend and brother in Christ,

"RICHARD WARNER."

"This, I doubt not, you will affirm to be a truly Christian letter, as worthy of its writer as of him to whom it is addressed; such sentiments, from a Rector of the Church of England, is a sign of the approach of favourable times—of 'times of restitution' to the knowledge and the worship of the only living and true God. On the sure word of prophecy we found our belief, that

the time is approaching when 'all nations whom Jehovah hath made, shall come and worship before Thee, O Lord, and shall glorify Thy name, for Thou art great, and doest wondrous things, Thou art God alone.' 'They shall come from the east, and from the west, and from the north, and from the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God.' We may wish to see that day at hand, and we should do all in our power to expedite its approach.

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"The illustrious Rajah is among the first and choicest fruits of Indian conversion, and his conversion is remarkable in this, that it was effected in opposition to difficulties and discouragements which, to any mind of ordinary stamp, must have proved insuperable, solely by his superior knowledge of Scripture, combined with an invincible love of truth. It is well known that Mr. WILLIAM ADAM, a Baptist Missionary of Serampore, who endeavoured to make him a convert to orthodoxy, concluded his task by acknowledging himself a convert to the true evangelical opinions of the Rajah! By him has the great, the everlasting truth, 'JEHOVAH OUR GOD IS ONE,' been proclaimed to the nations of the East. It has been attested to those of the West by his appearance among them, by his character, by his writings. May his great and good example be followed by thousands and millions of his countrymen, and may we lend our strenuous efforts to promote a cause, which has for its objects the glory of God, the honour of Christ, and the felicity of man. Amen."

A funeral sermon on the death of the Rajah RAM-MOHUN ROY, was also preached in the Meeting House

of the first Presbyterian Congregation, Belfast, on Nov. the 10th, 1833, by the Rev. J. SCOTT PORTER. This gentleman was associated with Mr. DAVISON, when the Rajah, confided to him the care of his adopted son, and there, he states, he had the high gratification and honour of forming the acquaintance of that illustrious man. Mr. PORTER had the privilege of being admitted to some degree of intimacy with the Rajah, who seldom failed to call at least once a week to inquire respecting his son's progress. He had thus peculiar opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of the Rajah's manner and mind, as developed in ordinary intercourse. To these he bears strong testimony in the discourse, from which we give the following extracts :—

Matthew XIII., 31, 32.

THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN IS LIKE TO A GRAIN OF MUSTARD SEED; WHICH A MAN TOOK AND SOWED IN HIS FIELD;—WHICH INDEED IS THE LEAST OF ALL SEEDS; BUT WHEN IT IS GROWN, IT IS THE GREATEST AMONG HERBS, AND BECOMETH A TREE: SO THAT THE BIRDS OF THE AIR COME AND LODGE IN THE BRANCHES THEREOF.

* * * * *

“There are men who have achieved, in their own breasts, victories over self, over passion, appetite and desire, compared with which the conquests of Alexander or Napoleon were but the amusements of children. Such characters, God has from time to time raised up to adorn and dignify the race of mankind; to spread around them the lights of science and philosophy; to kindle the torch of philanthropy; to fan the genial flame of benevolence; and to teach the base, the grovelling, and the low in soul,—the little vulgar,

and the great,—what human nature is, and to what an elevation it may soar. In my mind, the accession of one of these, confers more glory on Christianity, than would accrue from the homage of a host of kings. Were I called on to point out the person whose testimony I considered as of the greatest importance to the Gospel, I should direct my finger, not to the wealthy, the dignified, the powerful;—not to the warrior, the statesman, or the sovereign;—but to some patient persevering votary of truth and righteousness. I should select some one who lived in calm seclusion from the turmoil of business, and the pomps of greatness, devoting all the energies of a mighty spirit to the discovery and diffusion of sound principles; little regardful whether his doctrines might be popular, or the reverse, provided only they commended themselves to his own reason; and who practised what he taught.

“And, my friends, I could point out, not one, but *many* such examples. I could select those whose vigorous minds have run the most excursive career into the realms of science and fancy,—but who returned to take their rest in the branches of the Christian Revelation; and who valued far more than those intellectual qualities and attainments, in which they outstripped all their co-temporaries, the possession of that invaluable treasure, the truth as it is in Jesus. I could point to him who sung in sublime accents the fall and the recovery of man,—the strife of angels, and the overthrow of fiends; the glorious majesty of heaven, and the gloomy horrors of the infernal abyss;—MILTON! He was a Christian;—a zealous, a conscientious Christian;—a Christian upon rational and deliberate conviction;—a Christian who spent much of his time, and employed much of his talent, in elucidating the sense of those venerable

writings in which the principles of the faith are recorded ; and who esteemed this the noblest occupation of his mental energies. And so was NEWTON : he whose comprehensive soul grasped the huge machinery of the universe in its embrace ; and reduced to order the fragments of a mighty plan, before but imperfectly understood. So, too, was LOCKE ; who led the way to the knowledge of the human mind ; teaching the student of nature to look inwards ; and revealing to him a world there, not less interesting nor less important in its relations, than the world without. And such was LARDNER, the close, accurate, patient investigator of antiquity ;—whose assiduity never tired ; whose inquiring spirit was never satisfied while any fact relating to the early history of the faith was unexplored ; and whose candour in stating the result of his inquiries, has never been impeached, even by those whose judgment he controverted, and whose arguments he exposed. Such, too, was Sir WILLIAM JONES, whose researches into the language, history, and records of the oriental nations, have never been equalled by the labours of any other scholar, before or since his day ; and who undertook these inquiries for this among other important purposes,—that he might determine whether or not there existed in the literature of the East any authentic history irreconcilable with the Christian Scriptures. The result of his search was his confirmation in the faith of Jesus : a conclusion the more important,—because, as he himself declares, he would not have hesitated to avow, and had no motive to conceal the contrary inference, if it had appeared to be supported by the facts of the case, and sound argument. And,—not to trouble you by enumerating others, whom it would be easy to add to the list,—such was one, whose name I do not hesitate to

introduce in connexion with those just mentioned, because I conceive him to have been in many respects the equal, and in some the superior, of the greatest among them ;—I mean the late illustrious Christian Brahmin,—the °Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY. These and such as these are, the great men whose names add weight and value to their testimony. These were the truly great ;—great not by the accident of birth,—not by the circumstances of fortune,—not by the chances of conquest, nor by the apportionment of worldly dominion ; but great in genius, learning, and virtue. The dominion they have exercised, is over the spirit of man, the immortal soul,—not the gross material frame. Their patent of nobility bears the stamp and seal of the celestial chancery. When I contemplate the conduct and history of these illustrious sages ;—when I witness their ardour in promoting the knowledge of divine truth ;—when I see them exerting, in this holiest and best of causes, the transcendant abilities with which they were gifted by their Creator ;—I am struck with the fulfilment of my Saviour's prophetic similitude :—‘ *The kingdom of Heaven is like unto a grain of seed, which a man took and sowed in his field ;—which is indeed the least of all seeds ; but when it is sprung up, it becometh a tree,*’ in whose branches the high soaring birds of heaven take refuge. My faith is strengthened, when I witness the accomplishment of this seemingly most improbable prediction. I am made to feel that though heaven and earth may pass away, the words of Jesus shall not pass away. And I revere that Gospel, which though first preached to the poor, and, more than any other religion, adapted to the wants of persons in humble life, is not less suited to the requirements of the most refined and enlightened minds.

"I have mentioned the lately deceased Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY, as one whose talents and history entitle him to be ranked among those men of illustrious soul, to whom, as it appears to me, the phrase in the parable of our Saviour may be most expressively referred: and a brief survey of the leading facts in his eventful life, will be sufficient to justify the estimate I have formed."

The substance of the biographical sketch of the Rajah here given has appeared in a former part of this volume. Mr. PORTER thus speaks of the publication of the "Precepts of Jesus":—

"The conduct of RAMMOHUN ROY in presenting to his countrymen the didactic and moral parts of the Gospel, at first, in a detached form, was evidently prompted by reflection on the experience of his own conversion. These were the passages which first attracted his own attention, interested his feelings, and allured his mind; he naturally concluded they were the most likely to engage the souls of other persons similar in faith and habits. His procedure was warranted by reason; for there is nothing in the nature of things, or in the laws of morality, that requires any advocate to bring forward, at the very outset, those parts of his case, which, as he well knows, may and must prevent him from obtaining a hearing in urging what farther he has to advance. It was demanded by policy; for had RAMMOHUN ROY insisted upon the doctrinal and miraculous portions of the New Testament, in addressing persons unprepared to receive them, he would only have confirmed them in their prejudices, and strengthened them in their obstinate rejection of Christianity altogether. Whereas, by presenting to them those sections whose truth, beauty, benevolence,

and utility, could not but be apparent to every candid observer, he took the most promising means of securing their attention and favor, when he should afterwards have occasion to introduce the other portions of the sacred volume to their notice. His conduct was sanctioned by the example of the apostles of Christ. In this sense, Paul openly avowed to some of his converts, that he *'fed them with milk and not with meat, because they were not able to bear it'*; and even Christ himself spoke the word unto the multitudes who frequented his preaching, *'as they were able'* to receive it. For the same purpose, he spoke much to them in parables, *'that seeing they might see and not perceive; that hearing they might hear and not understand'*;—that is, that they might attain to some impressions of the truth without their knowledge, unaware of the process by which it was acquired."

With respect to the Rajah's character, Mr. PORTER says:—

"I believe I only speak the general sentiment of all who knew him, when I declare, that the extent, vigour, and profundity of his mind were much more evident to those who conversed with him personally, than to those who only knew him in his works. Never have I known a person who brought a greater variety of knowledge to bear upon almost every topic on which he conversed;—never one whose own remarks were more original, ingenious, solid, and useful. Yet, with all his great attainments, he was a modest seeker after knowledge. He did not disdain to ask information from the youngest person in company, if he seemed disposed and qualified to afford it: for he was far removed from the puerile ambition of wishing to appear a

universal genius. But he chiefly addressed himself to the old, to whom he always paid remarkable deference and respect. He frequently questioned them respecting their recollection of the state of moral and political knowledge in their youthful days, and as compared with the present time. He loved to hear of the progress of society in philanthropy, virtue, and religion; and to discuss the means by which that progress might be accelerated.

"It occurred to me, that, even while discussing the affairs of England, his beloved India was uppermost in his thoughts. Often, after conversing on the means adopted for the support and education of the poor,—upon the industrial and commercial system, and upon the social machinery of Britain, some expression would escape him, which impressed the attentive observer with the conviction, that the Rajah was treasuring up in his mind, facts and suggestions that might be of service on his return to that country, for which his bosom never ceased to beat with a son's affectionate solicitude. It was for India, that he left his native land;—it was for India, that he sojourned among strangers; subjecting himself to the thousand inconveniences of a residence amidst a people differing totally in manners and customs from those which he was obliged to maintain;—it was for India, that he exposed a delicate constitution to the vicissitudes of a strange climate, and risked the loss of health and ease, and endangered life itself.

"The purity no less than the benevolence of his mind, was conspicuous in all the acts and words, and even the tones and looks of the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY. Offences against the laws of morality, which are too often passed over as trivial transgressions in European society, excited

the deepest horror in him. His whole manner and appearance discovered how much he shrunk from the very thought of them, when associated with the names of any for whom he had formerly felt respect. The admonitions which he addressed to his son, upon such subjects, were among the most impressive that I ever heard. They have left upon my mind the sentiment of a holy sublimity. It was an elevating thing to hear the mild, solemn and affectionate tones of that voice, inculcating the practice of whatsoever things are pure, lovely, and of good report; and to behold the eye and the whole expressive countenance of the Rajah beaming with benevolence and piety. Never will the impression of those moments be effaced from the recollection of those who witnessed them. Nor was it for those only with whom he was closely connected, that the Rajah felt and expressed such sympathy. I can tell my countrymen, that for Ireland's welfare, he felt all the interest of a philanthropist. I remember well, that, on the first and only occasion when he attended divine worship in Carterlane Chapel, during my ministry, my flock were engaged in making a collection for the relief of the suffering poor in the West of Ireland, then in a state of lamentable distress; and when I read a letter from a clergyman in that quarter, giving an account of the state of things in his neighbourhood, the tears which fell from his eyes, declared how deeply he was moved by the recital. I have reason to think that the liberal contribution which we were enabled to transmit to the general Committee, was materially aided by his generosity. The Rajah was habitually serious, pious, and even devout. He was in the daily habit of perusing, in a very thoughtful manner, some portion of portions of the Word of God; and prayer, both public and private,

was an ordinance which he never neglected.—This practice he observed, no matter what might be his avocations; even when they were of such a nature that most Christians would hold them a plausible excuse for omitting the duty. He was, as his writings testify, a Unitarian Christian. Such he frequently avowed himself, both on the title page of his works, where the name appears; and by his attendance upon the anniversaries of the Unitarian Association, in London. On one of these occasions, I heard him deliver his sentiments at considerable length, with great force and correctness, although the weak state of his health, at the time, rendered it impossible for him to make himself heard at a distance, and the speech consequently could not be reported. It chiefly dwelt upon the importance of practical principles, as compared with mere articles of faith; and more especially those which are called mysteries.

“One defect in his character, or perhaps I should say in his manner, the partiality of friendship would have led me to pass over in silence, or under a general admission of imperfection, which has been publicly mentioned, and need not now be more especially, as I am permitted to say, when it is examined, the more will it admit of extenuation. It is this: that either a disposition to acquiescence, or compliance with the oriental p[ro]cess, sometimes induced him to in a way as allowed strangers to leave him with impressions of his opinions and views. With whom he knew and loved, he conversed most freely and unreservedly upon all topics: and by them his sincerity and candour were most highly appreciated. But, in conversing with strangers,—and more especially those who called upon him out of mere curiosity, without any intro-

duction or business of any kind, as multitudes did, he would not enter into controversy; even though in shunning it he yielded seeming assent to principles most opposite to his known opinions, and which he would rather have laid his head upon the block than have published to the world as his own. This has been set down as insincerity; but, however contrary to our better regulated judgment, I am informed that it is no more than is required of every person who aspires to the character of a well-bred man among the natives of India. It would be judging too harshly to condemn him, an Oriental and a Hindoo, for non-conformity to a European standard. After all, it would be difficult to assign a motive for the deception, if he had wished to deceive: and it is universally allowed, that few have sacrificed more to the cause of truth and sincerity than he.

"Another point which has been sometimes objected to in his conduct, is, in my mind, capable of a very easy defence: I allude to his anxiety to avoid every act by which he might forfeit the privileges of *caste*. It has been held that this anxiety shewed him to be wavering in his profession of Christianity. But, never was objection more futile. Even if the distinction of *caste* were founded on religious considerations, the Rajah might be defended on the same principles with the apostle Paul; who, with the Jews lived as a Jew, that he might gain the Jews, though he himself strenuously maintained, that those restrictions to which he subjected himself, were abolished. But the best authorities are agreed that *caste* is a civil, not a religious institution.—Adherence to it, therefore, is no more a proof of insincerity in the profession of Christianity than the retention of a title of nobility would have been. And when it is considered, that without *caste* he would have been

cut off from intercourse with all the enlightened and learned among his countrymen,—and, at the same time, would have been deprived of his landed property, sufficient reason will be seen for the conduct which he pursued. This view of the origin of *caste* was not peculiar to RAMMOHUN ROY. It has been taken up by other competent and strictly impartial authorities, including the Abbé Dubois; the Danish Missionaries at Travancore, the most successful of all the teachers of Christianity in India, who freely permit their converts to retain the distinction of *caste*; and, finally, by the Supreme Court of Hindoo law at Calcutta, which, by its decision already mentioned, may be considered as having finally settled the question.

* * * * *

“Thus departed one of the most extraordinary men whom the world has witnessed for centuries: one, whose freedom, vigour, and independence of thought, commanded the admiration even of adversaries; and whose amiable disposition, purity of mind, and benevolence of heart, attached to him, by indissoluble ties, the souls of all who were admitted within the circle of his friends: one whose ardent love of truth, and indefatigable search after it, led him to renounce prejudices the most dear, and connexions the most beloved; to embrace opinions once the most obnoxious, and to submit to losses and deprivations the most painful and severe. He was a man who left all and followed Christ: and closely did he tread in his master's footsteps. His integrity and philanthropy were never questioned, and could not be called in question. He fell in a land of strangers, surrounded by countenances on which his eye had never rested, till a few days before; where feature, complexion, language, manners, all told him that

he was dying in a foreign soil; far from his beloved India, for whose good his heart beat unceasingly. He was carried off in the midst of his days, when much of active usefulness might have been expected in the course of nature. But now,—all his benevolent plans are suddenly cut short, and all his high thoughts are perished. Alas! how many hopes has this mysterious dispensation brought at once to a close! We trusted,—we fondly trusted,—that it was he who should have redeemed unto Christ the Israel of the East; but it has otherwise pleased God, and our duty is resignation. Let us hope that He will, in His own good providence, raise up other reformers, to finish the work so nobly begun; and to complete that which is now left unfinished for lack of time. Let us pray the Lord of the harvest, that he may send forth other labourers into this field, men like-minded with the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY.

* * * * *

“In conclusion.—Let us bless God, for the progress of the Gospel throughout the world, up to the present period. Let us glorify Him for the illustrious men whom He has raised up to adorn its profession. Let us rejoice in the labours of those who have devoted their lives to the illustration and spread of its pure doctrines. Let us pray, that a succession of such labourers may be raised up to purify it still farther from those corruptions which yet obscure its native beauty. Let us trustfully anticipate the time, when, in its divine and simple majesty, it will be acknowledged and obeyed from the rising to the setting sun; the day, when ‘JEHOVAH shall be King over all the earth; when there shall be ONE LORD, and his name One.’”

The last sermon is by the Rev. W. J. Fox. He prefaces it by saying,—“The following discourse was delivered at Finsbury Chapel, South Place, on Sunday, October 14, 1833, and is published at the request of the congregation, and in testimony of the feelings by which both preacher and hearers were influenced towards the extraordinary man whom it commemorates.”

Genesis, XII., 1.

NOW THE LORD HAD SAID UNTO ABRAM, GET THEE OUT OF
THY COUNTRY, AND FROM THY KINDRED, AND FROM
‘THY FATHER’S HOUSE, UNTO A LAND THAT I WILL SHOW
THEE.

• *Hebrews, XI., 8.*

AND HE WENT OUT, NOT KNOWING WHITHER HE WENT.

* * * *

“Abraham was an Oriental; and whatever the nation of the individual, I apprehend that an Orientalism of nature and mental character belongs to this class of reformers. I mean by Orientalism, a tendency towards the spiritual, the remote, the vast, the undefined, as distinguished from the microscopic and grovelling intellect, which looks only upon earth, sees only in detail, and comprises all philosophy in the calculations which most directly solve the questions, ‘What shall we eat, what shall we drink, and wherewithal shall we be clothed?’ The men whose monuments rise on the ascending path of human improvement, like ‘towers along the steep,’ beneath which the tide of time has hitherto beaten in vain, have always had loftier and wider views than these. They have seen, and foreseen, what to others was only a

shadowy distance; and even Socrates, who brought down philosophy from the clouds to the business of mankind—the Utilitarian of antiquity—had his inspiring demon; a mode, perhaps, of admonishing his disciples that there are impulses and influences of higher origin than *they* perceive, whose spirits are incarcerated in the gross material world. Of Christian reformers and philanthropists most evident is it, that this Oriental spirit is upon their spirits, for they imbibe it in the religion itself. Our Bible is Eastern; it finds or creates an affinity in those whom it vests with a power and a commission to enlighten; exalt, and bless the souls of their contemporaries.

“Another mark of this type is, the departing, always figuratively, and often in a literal sense, from the paternal home, and the shrines in which worship the family, or the countrymen of him to whom, in his youth, God speaks, that he may benefit mankind. For such light springs up in the darkness. It implies a conscientious originality of thought. There must be the clearness and the boldness which consanguinity is not likely to have anticipated— which society is not likely to recognise, and which as, in the first instance they display the mental strength of the individual, next subject his moral strength to a severe and painful trial. Parent, child, friend, countrymen, all clinging to the superstitions against which the reformer bears his testimony, become instruments of torture, agonising in proportion to the superior susceptibilities of his nature. Perhaps, by the very operation of trying and wounding him through his sympathies, expanding and refining those sympathies, so as to contribute to his better qualification for the work of generous, but ill-requited beneficence, which he was created to accomplish.

“Such men make their pilgrimage as did the patriarch, in one sense, ‘not knowing whither.’ It often leads them to lands they little thought to visit—to a mental path they little expected to trace—to exertions and associations they little thought to make or form—to conclusions which once their minds would have deemed appalling—to some unexpected rest of faith from their spirits, and perhaps an unexpected grave for their mortal bodies. They know, as Abraham knew, whither they go, in this particular, that it is where truth, and conscience, and benevolence shall lead; they have the faith which, knowing this, deems it knowledge enough, a sufficient revelation of futurity, such as the Saviour used not only for his own strength, but for his disciples’ consolation, ‘whither I go ye know, and the way ye know:’ and that way known, that path illumined, they are content it should lead through unknown regions, covered with clouds and darkness.

“I will only mention more, that in such men’s views, if chiefly directed to scientific and social improvement, there has usually been involved a recurrence to some sublime simplicity of principle, from the forgetfulness of which, error and injury had been occasioned. In theology, the reformation has generally related to the divine nature and character, and has been a protest against some modification of polytheism or idolatry. All great eras of religious improvement have been a return towards the simplicity of that faith in one infinite spirit, of which Abraham was the patriarchal confessor. The losing sight, doctrinally or practically, of the Divine Unity, has been the source of almost all corruptions and delacements of religion, whether among Jews or Gentiles, in ancient or modern times. That ‘there is one God,’ truism as the assertion

may seem to us, is, in reality, a proposition so full of truth, and so exclusive of error, so rich in devotion, and so hostile to superstition, that, under some modification or other, in some application or other of it to the details of faith and practice, it has always been deeply cherished in the souls of spiritual reformers. Whenever and wherever such men arise, their lives, characters, and influence are deserving of our earnest study—whenever and wherever they die, their loss is to be lamented, and their memories cherished; and so be it with him, the unexpected termination of whose career has occasioned the feeling which pervades this assembly, and in whom was visible the image and superscription of that excellence which I have been describing, and which, first in distant report and then in personal observation, our hearts recognised in the *Rajah RANMOHUN ROY*.

“Strange is it that such a man should have been given by India to the world. * * Strange, that in the proudest and most selfish tribe of the land of caste, which arrogates a diviner origin than the rest of the community, and voraciously makes the rest subsidiary to its pleasures, its cupidity, and its arrogance, legislating for the Brahmin with a recklessness of all inferiors’ rights, to which there is nothing comparable even in the worst insolence of feudality—should have been born one, in whose heart men’s common nature and equal rights seem ever to have been recognised; whose own soul was such a revelation to him of the universal brotherhood of humanity, that he read it everywhere, even in the reveries of Brahminical theology, and became its advocate and missionary before the voice of the Apostle had told him it was the word of God. Strange, that from *that exclusive and restricted land*,

where the selfish interest alike of the native priesthood, and of the foreign conqueror, obstruct free communication with the world at large; where the invisible wall of superstition, guarded by temporal, even more than by spiritual terrors, has hitherto confined all, except the very outcasts of the people, within its magic circle—should have come one who was already, in principle and feeling, a citizen of the world, a member of the great fraternity of enlarged and liberal minds, in whom the foremost men of all free and civilized nations would welcome a congenial visitant, and whom one country after another was anxiously waiting to tell, upon its own shores, how he was already known and honoured there. Strange is it—but he was not *of* India, so much as *for* India; and the influences of race and of country that were over him, only so far tinged the universality of his spirit, as to give it that colouring in which the best of his countrymen would delight, and which would more completely qualify him to be (as in the, perhaps, remote agency of his character and instructions I think he will yet be) the moral and spiritual reformer of his people, the Apostle of Hindostan, the patriarch there of a purer faith, worship, and morality.

“The remarkable faculties and operations of his intellect,—the readiness with which it received new impressions, and the tenacity with which it retained whatever had once been made;—the wide field over which his acquirements spread, comprising sciences and languages, which individual knowledge rarely associates together;—the caution with which he arranged facts, and the acuteness with which he detected sophisms,—the minuteness of detail to which his investigations descended, and the broad principles which he so early adopted, and so extensively applied: these

qualities, remarkable as they were, and remarkable as they would have made him, even amongst the literary men of the most enlightened countries,—owed their highest worth to that pure and beautiful moral constitution which was the real glory of his character. Facility and kindness are the common qualities of his countrymen, so far as priestcraft and subjugation allow us to discern the native qualities of that gentle but perverted race. Not only were these, in him, sublimed into virtues; by their combination with his intelligence and his principle, but he was born to that expansiveness of sympathy and feeling which, when feeling is also strong, presents the germ of the noblest philanthropy—of that which will love man, and toil for man, and suffer for man, and eventually bless man; while yet not the most exclusive fabricator of a family-interest can have more of tenderness and fondness to all who dwell within the circle of his domestic affections. And there was yet more than this in him; there was a tendency, which took the happiest direction, towards what we may call natural religion, or more properly, veneration; I mean the ready recognition, the deep appreciation, of whatever is morally superior. Real greatness, which is moral greatness, he felt, he loved, he venerated, wherever it existed. Hence the beautiful humility of his character; its freedom from the restlessness of the mere innovator, from the pragmatism of the mere controversialist, from the nationality of the narrow-minded patriot, and from the hard ambition of the sectarian leader and religious despot. It was this which made him turn with disgust from the gross mythology of his country; it was this which made him rejoice in every beam of the true light which he found glimmering among the dark pages of their Shasters; it was this which guided his unerring selection of those wise

and holy fragments, which have floated down from the remote antiquity of their theological books, intermingled with wild dreams, and prescriptions of foolish or pernicious ceremony; it was this which made him so promptly perceive, that, whether his mission were natural, or supernatural, the 'precepts of Jesus' were the 'guide to happiness:' and if we may advert to a lower, though not less striking operation of the same faculty, it was this which overcame his young hostility towards the English name and people, his aversion from the conquerors and despoilers of his country—making him comprehend to what a superior race and nation they belonged, and gaze, neither in hate nor envy, at their grandeur in arts, and arms; and literature, and polity, and even in religion; it was this which made him neither the indiscriminating admirer, nor the indiscriminating associate of European residents; but attracted him towards, as they were attracted towards him, the most distinguished for the best qualities of head and heart; the most able, the most honourable, the most upright, though not always the most influential, of all that sojourned there. It was this which made him select, when he came to the daring resolution of passing abroad to other nations, the countries most worthy of such visitation; and dictated alike the purposes which he should, in each pursue, and the associations he should form with kindred spirits, to whom, in the simplicity of his own worth, he did homage, because he revered in them, that which made them his moral kindred, his spiritual brethren. Such a disposition is of itself a preparation for, and plodges of, final beatitude in heaven; it ripened him to feel blessedness in sitting down with patriarchs in the kingdom of heaven, and in joining the society of the spirits of just men made perfect.

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“His adoption afterwards of Christianity, I can scarcely call a *conversion*; for it no more wrought an essential change in him, than it would have done on the patriarchs and holy men of the Jewish nation, who lived before the coming of the Saviour, but in whom was the spirit of Christ. It was not a *change*, but an enlargement, and new modification of his religion. It affected rather the evidence of his principles, than the principles themselves; for the unity, spirituality, and perfection of the Deity, a moral government, and a future life, with the summary of duty in love to God and our neighbour, had long constituted his religion. And these are the substance of Christianity; the peculiarity of which, as distinguished from the pure theism of the Hindoo Reformer, consists rather in evidence and application, in the bearing upon these truths of a supernatural system, and in the resurrection of Christ, than in the truths themselves. He had previously that faith, that enlightened and filial confidence in God, which the writer to the Hebrews has so distinctly characterized as the life of all pure religion, most acceptable to God—most safe and honourable for men. ‘He that cometh unto God, must believe that he is, and that he is the rewarder of them that diligently seek him.’ So came the inquiring philosopher; and what bigot shall say that, so coming, he was not accepted? Like another character in this same record, ‘he walked with God.’ He already manifested that spirit of devotion which permanently possessed him; which was neither weak originally, through the imperfection of his knowledge, nor polluted afterwards by the false fires of controversy in which he was compelled to engage; but ever strong,—shining steadily even through the last days of silence and darkness, when his life ebbed

away. This is religion; this is Christianity in spirit and in substance, whatever its appellation. Nor is it improbable, that, by a direct influence, as well as a native affinity, his faith was linked to that of the patriarch, in the words of whose history we have ventured to describe his character and destiny. Through the traditions, both of India and of Arabia, might something of the spirit of the Father of the faithful descend upon the Indian Reformer; like the mantle of the ascending Elijah, borne hither and thither on the whirlwind, but resting at length on the meek and expectant disciple who knelt upon the earth. Strong as must generally be the prejudices of the Hindoo against the gospel; strong from the interweaving of idolatry with all the dictates of education and the concerns of life; strong, from its remote antiquity and unquestioned reception by the many millions around them; strong, from the connexion of the Christian name with those whom they fear and hate, while they obey, and who exhibit little of his benign spirit to mitigate their prejudice; strong in all the arts employed to uphold idolatry by a shrewd, unprincipled, ambitious, and rapacious priesthood, possessing the hereditary reverence of the community; we may yet well believe that his mind, which had vanquished these prejudices in itself, and long struggled with them in others, was neither unprepared nor indisposed for the reception of Christianity. He must have felt congeniality with the sacred writers, as soon as their pages were fairly open before him. The simplicity of their narrative, the fervour of their devotion, the depth of their philosophy, the purity of their precepts, the boundlessness of their benevolence, the splendour of their hopes—all must have touched corresponding chords in

his bosom—must have made him feel that this was what he wanted—must have led him to the Lord of all, not like John's disciples, *questioning*, but affirming, thou art he that should come; I look not for another.

“Yet his reception of Christianity was no act of impulse, of gratified curiosity, or accordant feeling, but of investigation as patient and perfect as if it had been to him, of all systems of religion, the most incredible or uncongenial. He acquired both the Hebrew and Greek languages, that he might study the Scriptures in their originals. He called in the aid of a Jewish Rabbi, for the one, and of a Christian Missionary, for the other; the singular circumstance having occurred, as you know, of the Missionary, who thus aided his labours, being himself converted from the Trinitarian opinions which he was sent thither to promulgate. This investigation, and the doctrinal controversies which ensued, occupied at least three years: he looked back on them with complacency: he had found in Christianity his own pure theism and morality, not overturned, but gloriously strengthened and illustrated. The doctrine of a plurality of divine persons had been to him a stumbling block, at the portal of the Christian temple. The angel of inquiry rolled away the stone, and told him of the resurrection of the man Christ Jesus. But while he was more and more appreciating Christianity, many Christians were less and less appreciating him, because it was not their dogmatized and sectarianized Christianity. He sat at Jesus' feet, with listening ears, and eager eyes, and loving and obedient heart; while they were pointing to church and to chapel, and saying, ‘Lo! here is Christ,’ or, ‘Lo, Christ is there!’ It better became him, than it would become us,

to forget the insults and vexations to which he was subjected, by that spirit of sectarian bigotry which dwells in the nominally Christian body, the worst of demoniacal possessions. * * * Not for such a man should there be that poor and pitiful, that blind and bitter conflict, to make a party trophy of that which could not, from its very nature, become the prize or the possession of a party. The factions of Jerusalem might as reasonably have battled for the light that used to irradiate their temple. What can matter, whether he said Shibboleth or Sibboleth, or neither? he spoke with the tongues of men and angels; for his speech was charity, the true language of heaven, to which the noise of creeds and their partizans is but as the sounding brass, or the tinkling cymbal.

“The Unitarians, who expected (if such there were) that he should only worship in their chapels, and be identified with their affairs—and the Trinitarians, who because he went about the walls of their Zion, to mark its towers and palaces, would incarcerate him within its gates, and claim him for their own,—alike mistook that which became such a man and such a mission. It was in his own free and Catholic spirit, ever ready to ask ‘Are ye not all brethren? why fall ye out by the way?’ that he wended his way, in charity, awhile with each; nay, that sometimes, with a literal observance of the precept, when some partizan, with rude hand, constrained him to go a mile with him on his rough road, he would, in his oriental courtesy, ‘go with him twain’. But the affectation of a doubt on the doctrinal opinions of a man who has illustrated them with unsurpassed acuteness of criticism, variety of information, and conclusiveness of argument, through a succession of publications, is scarcely

more endurable than the bigotry which would append everlasting damnation to his known continued belief in the doctrines so defended, of the proper unity of God, and the forgiveness of sinners, by his unpurchased mercy.

"The testimony which he thus bore against the departure from the worship of the one only God, both by Hindoos and by Christians, has not been borne in vain. Its useful influence has already been made apparent, although it will probably be long before the full extent and power of that influence will be manifested. Thousands of his countrymen have followed his example in the renunciation of idolatry. The philosophical theists of India now comprise no inconsiderable portion of whatever is eminent amongst the natives for intelligence and character. In their temple at Calcutta, where his voice has been often heard, and at the mention of which his countenance would glow with devout and benevolent pleasure, no exclusive worship is offered to the Deity, but homage in which the Hindoo and the European, the rationalist and the supernaturalist, the Jew, the Mahometan, and the Christian, may and do unite. Where the votaries of so many creeds must continue to meet and mingle in the midst of an idolatrous multitude, may there long remain, though he shall never return to it, that one spot in which man, unquestioned, may offer the universal prayer to the universal Father. And the flame which he had kindled continued to burn and brighten in his absence! The liberal Hindoos, notwithstanding the power and wrath of the idolatrous priesthood, are growing in strength and influence. To them, apparently, we must look for the carrying on of his work, and the continuation of the process whose consummation will be

the disuse of idolatrous ceremony, the extension of the enlightenment of the people and improvement of their condition, the reception of pure Christianity, and the attainment of political existence and freedom. Thus will his name receive its rightful honours, and his country know its benefactor.

* * *

"We shall see his face no more! His presence has passed away, as a poetic image fades from the brain! But it has left impressions which will long endure; influences of good, wide and deep, here; yet wider and deeper in the distant land of his nativity. And, 'being dead, he yet speaketh' with a voice to which not only India but Europe and America will listen for generations. A few days of fever have made him dust. It appears that no skill could have saved a life which, as he was probably, but in about the fifty-fifth year of his age, seems to us prematurely terminated. Subsequent to all other signs of consciousness, he indicated the yet surviving sense of the kindness of his friends, and, by silent devotion, of the presence of his God. His body will be silently committed to its rest in ground, only hallowed by its reception—the noblest of all consecrations. Many will there be whom personal attachment will draw towards that spot, and it should draw them thither; for it is good to weep over the grave of such a man, and makes the heart better. Good will it be for them, then, to adopt as the rule of their own conduct his favourite quotation from the Persian poet, which he often wished should be inscribed on his tomb—'THE TRUE WAY OF SERVING GOD, IS TO DO GOOD TO MAN.'

And if we shed at his death 'no faithless tears,' such is the service which the contemplation of his life will stimulate us to render. God is not served by our forms and ceremonies, our creeds and anathemas, our wild emotions, or our bustling zeal. He will have mercy, and not sacrifice. The garland with which the Hindoo decks his idol is not less worthy heaven than the useless observances and mysterious dogmas, by the faith and practice of which many who are called Christians, have thought to propitiate God. The dissemination of knowledge, the mitigation of suffering, the prevention of oppression, the promotion of improvement, the diffusion of a beneficent piety,—these are God's work, for us, towards others; and they are all reflected upon ourselves in the building up of our own characters to intellectual and moral excellence. 'Speaking the truth in love,' we shall best bear our own testimony, and prolong theirs who have joined the 'cloud of witnesses' that compass us about, as we 'run the race set before us, looking unto Jesus.' The voice of duty may not call us to quit either country or kindred; but our souls have their pilgrimage of faith to pursue, through varied trials, to our Father's house, in which there are many mansions, wherein ultimately shall be gathered together the whole family of heaven and earth. Already should our hearts feel the bond of that holy fraternity,—the love which never faileth, which never shall fail, in time or in eternity; for it is the essence and the influence of God, and 'he that loveth dwelleth in God, and God in him.'

"Thus may we anticipate, according to our usefulness and progress, acceptance in degree like that which awaited our departed visitant and friend. For may we not devoutly trust that the Great Master has received him with—

‘Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord;’ and that patriarchs and prophets, apostles and confessors, philosophers and reformers, the holy and illustrious of all times and countries, gathering round to greet a brother, have responded in gratulation, ‘Amen, even so, Lord Jesus!’”

Here we bring to a conclusion the notices we have been able to collect of the last days in England of the illustrious Hindoo Reformer, the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY,—a man who, though he was greatly admired and appreciated during his life by those who could discern even a small portion of his greatness, will perhaps be far better comprehended, and therefore exert a far wider influence over his countrymen, now that time has removed some of the barriers which separated him from them during his lifetime. India will doubtless not much longer delay to prepare for him an enduring tribute of reverence and respect, as well as to perpetuate the history of his life for future generations. It is probable that the painting from which the frontispiece is copied is the best representation of his living form that exists;—while the bust taken after death preserves his actual form. Will the capital of his country long remain without the honour of possessing such a statue of him as may show to future generations the noble benefactor of his country? Ere all have passed away who

personally knew him in India, will not efforts be made to collect all that can be known respecting him into a complete and permanent Memoir?

There is, however, one further mark of respect due to this illustrious Reformer, which he would value more highly than any other.

We have seen how earnestly he laboured to disseminate the great truths which he had devoted his whole life to discover, and to present them to his countrymen for their serious consideration in a simple and popular form. To accomplish this, he spared no expense, no time, no personal exertion. His unexpected, and, to our narrow view, premature summons to the other world, prevented his accomplishing all he had purposed in this respect. His works were never given to his countrymen and to the world in a connected series:—many of the books which he published are now out of print, and it is probable that manuscripts of his may yet be discovered which he intended for publication, had not death arrested his hand.

Let his countrymen undertake the sacred task of collecting and publishing in a complete and permanent form all his works, and of rendering those of them to which he attached the greatest importance acceptable to the public generally by being printed in a cheap and popular edition. Thus will the most enduring monument be raised to his memory! Thus may his high and excellent aspirations be enabled to kindle the hearts of generation after generation of his countrymen, and through them of countless multitudes. Listening

with reverence to his voice, now speaking to the
from the World of Spirits, may his countrymen be led
on by him to a pure and holy religion, which will
guide them in peace and happiness through this world,
and prepare them for another and a better. And thus,
without distinction of country or clime, shall myriads
bless the name of the first Hindoo Reformer, the
Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY.

APPENDIX.

(A)

LIST OF THE WORKS OF THE RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY, WHICH HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND.

(From the Notes to Mr. Fox's Sermon).

1. The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Peace and Happiness, extracted from the Books of the New Testament ascribed to the Four Evangelists. To which are added, the First and Second Appeal to the Christian Public, in reply to the Observations of Dr. MARSHMAN, of Serampore. London, 1828.

2. Final Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the "Precepts of Jesus." London, Hunter, 1828.

3. Translation of several principal Books, Passages, and Texts of the Veds, and of some Controversial Works in Brahminical Theology. London, Parbury, 1832.

This Collection contains the following Tracts, to the titles of which are affixed the dates of their (English) publication at Calcutta:—

Translation of an Abridgment of the Vedant, or Resolution of all the Veds; the most celebrated and revered Work of Brahminical Theology; establishing the Unity of the Supreme Being, and that He alone is the Object of Propitiation and Worship. 1816.

Translation of the Moonduk-Oopunishud of the Uthuryu Ved. 1819.

Translation of the Cēna Upanishad, one of the Chapters of the Sāma Vēda. 1824.

Translation of the Kut'h-Oopunishud of the Ujoor-Ved.

Translation of the Ishopunishud, one of the Chapters of the Yajur Vêda, 1816.

A Translation into English of a Sungskrit Tract, inculcating the Divine Worship; esteemed by those who believe in the Revelation of the Vêds, as most appropriate to the Nature of the Supreme Being. 1827.

A Defence of Hindoo Theism, in reply to the Attack of an Advocate for Idolatry, at Madras. 1827.

A Second Defence of the Monotheistical System of the Vêds; in reply to an Apology for the present State of Hindoo Worship. 1817.

An Apology for the Pursuit of Final Beatitude, independently of Brahminical Observances. 1820.

Translation of a Conference between an Advocate for, and an Opponent of, the Practice of burning Widows alive; from the original Bungalow. 1818.

A Second Conference between an Advocate for, and an Opponent of, the practice of burning Widows alive. 1820.

Abstract of the Arguments regarding the Burning of Widows, considered as a Religious Rite. 1830.

Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females, according to the Hindoo Law of Inheritance. 1822.

4. Essay on the Right of Hindoos over Ancestral Property according to the Law of Bengal. With an Appendix containing Letters on the Hindoo Law of Inheritance. Calcutta, 1830. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1832.

5. Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems in India, and of the general Character and Condition of its Native Inhabitants; as submitted in Evidence to the Authorities in England. With Notes and Illustrations. Also, a brief Preliminary Sketch of the Ancient and Modern Boundaries, and of the History of that Country. London: Smith, 1832.

6. Answers to Queries by the Rev. H. WARE, of Cambridge, U.S., printed in "Correspondence relative to the Prospects of Christianity, and the Means of promoting its Reception in India." London: C. Fox, 1825.

7. Translation of the Creed maintained by the Ancient Brahmins, as founded on the Sacred Authorities. Second Edition, reprinted from the Calcutta Edition. London: Nichols and Son, 1833; pp. 15.

He was also the author of an able Memorial to the Privy Council on behalf of the Native Press of India; of a Bengalee Grammar in the English language; and, probably, of various publications not known in this country. His early work, which was written in Persian, with a preface in Arabic, "Against the Idolatry of all Religions," has not, so far as is known to the writer of this note, appeared in the English language. Besides some portion of a Life of Mahomet, already referred to, mention is made by Mr. ANNOTT, in the "Athenæum," of supposed works in favour of monotheism, and also that "he prepared, while in England, various able Papers of Essays on the working of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, against the Salt Monopoly in India, &c., which have not been published." If his "Journal" have been regularly and fully kept, its appearance must excite a strong interest.

(B)

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL LETTER OF RAMMOHUN ROY.

(From the Appendix of Dr. Carpenter's Sermon.)

The following letter from the Rajah first appeared in the "Athenæum," and in the "Literary Gazette;" from one or other of which it was copied into various newspapers. It is a valuable and interesting document. It was written just before he went to France. It was probably designed for some distinguished persons who had desired him to give them an outline of his history; and he adopted this form for the purpose. The letter may be considered as addressed to his friend Mr. GORDON, of Calcutta.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"In conformity with the wish you have frequently expressed, that I should give you an outline of my life, I have now the pleasure to give you the following very brief sketch.

"My ancestors were Brahmins of a high order, and, from time immemorial, were devoted to the religious duties of their race down to my fifth progenitor, who about one hundred and forty years ago gave up spiritual exercises for worldly pursuits and aggrandisement. His descendants ever since have followed his example, and, according to the usual fate of courtiers, with various success, sometimes rising to honour and sometimes falling; sometimes rich and sometimes poor; sometimes excelling in success, sometimes miserable through disappointment. But my maternal ancestors, being of the sacerdotal order by profession as well as by birth, and of a family than which none holds a higher rank in that profession, have up to the present day uniformly adhered to a life of religious observances and devotion, preferring peace and tranquillity of mind to the excitements of ambition, and all the allurements of worldly grandeur.

"In conformity with the usage of my paternal race, and the wish of my father, I studied the Persian and Arabic languages,—these being indispensable to those who attached themselves to the courts of the Mahomedan princes; and agreeably to the usage of my maternal relations, I devoted myself to the study of the Sanscrit and the theological works written in it, which contain the body of Hindoo literature, law and religion.

"When about the age of sixteen, I composed a manuscript calling in question the validity of the idolatrous system of the Hindoos. This, together with my known sentiments on that subject, having produced a coolness between me and my immediate kindred, I proceeded on my travels, and passed through different countries, chiefly within, but some beyond, the bounds of Hindostan, with a feeling of great aversion to the establishment of the British power in India. When I had reached the age of twenty, my father recalled me, and restored me to his favour; after which I first saw and began to associate with Europeans, and soon after made myself tolerably acquainted with their laws and form of government. Finding them generally more intelligent, more steady and moderate in their conduct, I gave up my prejudices against them, and became inclined in their favour, feeling persuaded that their rule, though a foreign yoke, would lead more speedily and surely to the amelioration of the native inhabitants.

and I enjoyed the confidence of several of them even in their public capacity. My continued controversies with the Brahmins on the subject of their idolatry and superstition, and my interference with their custom of burning widows, and other pernicious practices, revived and increased their animosity against me; and through their influence with my family, my father was again obliged to withdraw his countenance openly, though his limited pecuniary support was still continued to me.

"After my father's death I opposed the advocates of idolatry with still greater boldness. Availing myself of the art of printing, now established in India, I published various works and pamphlets against their errors, in the native and foreign languages. This raised such a feeling against me, that I was at last deserted by every person except two or three Scotch friends, to whom, and the nation to which they belong, I always feel grateful.

"The ground which I took in all my controversies was, not that of opposition to Brahminism, but to a perversion of it; and I endeavoured to show that the idolatry of the Brahmins was contrary to the practice of their ancestors, and the principles of the ancient books and authorities which they profess to revere and obey. Notwithstanding the violence of the opposition and resistance to my opinions, several high, respectable persons, both among my own relations and others, began to adopt the same sentiments.

"I now felt a strong wish to visit Europe, and obtain, by personal observation, a more thorough insight into its manners, customs, religion, and political institutions. I refrained, however, from carrying this intention into effect until the friends who coincided in my sentiments should be increased in number and strength. My expectations having been at length realised, in November, 1830, I embarked for England, as the discussion of the East India Company's charter was expected to come on, by which the treatment of the natives of India, and its future government, would be determined for many years to come, and an appeal to the King in Council, against the abolition of the practice of burning widows, was to be heard before the Privy Council; and his Majesty the Emperor of Delhi had likewise commissioned me to bring before the authorities in England certain encroachments on his

rights by the East India Company, & accordingly at
England in April, 1821.

"I hope you will excuse the brevity of this sketch,
leisure at present to enter into particulars, and

"I remain, Sir,

"RAMMOHUN ROY"

(C)

The four Hindoo gentlemen alluded to in the Preface, p. viii.,
are:—

SATYENDRA NATH TAGORE, Esq., now in the Indian Civil Service.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH, Esq., now called to the English Bar.

WOMENS CHUNDER BONNERJEE, Esq., of the Middle Temple.

KHITTER MOHUN DUTT, Esq., M.D., Professor of Bengalee in the
London University.

(D)—P. 54, Line 4.

It is a remarkable fact, that Mr. ADAMS, the Baptist Missionary
at Madras, to whom RAMMOHUN ROY applied for instructions in
Greek, with a view to the critical study of the New Testament,
was led by the force of the Brahmin's arguments to renounce his
Trinitarian views, and become a Unitarian. Dr. CARPENTER
states, p. 55:—"Mr. ADAM had been one of the Baptist Mis-
sionaries. He was led, I believe, to that investigation which
made him a Unitarian, by communication with RAMMOHUN ROY.
This change of sentiments, which was publicly avowed at the
latter end of 1821, brought down upon him much bitterness of
opposition; but nothing transpired to throw any stigma upon his
principles or his conduct, and some of those whose creed he had
left bore honorable testimony to them. He enjoyed the coopera-
tion and friendship of RAMMOHUN ROY; and in reference to his
qualifications for the work which he executed, and for missionary
labours, the Brahmin stated that he possessed a thorough
acquaintance with the language, manners, and prejudices of the
natives of India."

Dr. Goodeve has kindly furnished the following account of those gentlemen:

"1st. **BOONRO COMAR GOODEVE CHUCKERBUTTY**. He was a very high caste Brahmin; but at his own request was baptised as a Christian in London, and insisted on taking my name in addition to his own—indeed, he wished to adopt it entirely, and *abandon his own*, which, of course, I would not allow; but his family are to be GOODEVE CHUCKERBUTTY's for ever, he says, so I have to reckon them amongst my progeny. He took a very high degree at the London University—as, indeed, did they all—and after having been some years in India, attached to the Medical College, he returned to London in 1855,—as soon as the medical service to India was thrown open to competition,—and out of more than one hundred candidates he passed first in the examination, thus becoming the first native of India who entered the so much coveted *covenanted* service of the (then) company. He then returned to his post in the College, and after having performed the duties of several professorships, he was finally appointed, in 1866, Professor of *Materia Medica and Clinical Medicine*, and Second Physician to the College Hospital.

"2nd. **BHOLONATH DAS BOSE**. He held several civil appointments in various parts of India; was present in most of the battles of the Second Sutlege Campaign as an Assistant-Surgeon, and though afterwards pensioned on account of ill-health for some years, has lately recovered, and is now *Civil Surgeon at Dacca*—a very responsible appointment, which he fills most creditably.

"3rd. **DWÁKANATH DAS BOSE** has been for many years practising on his own account in Calcutta.

"4th. **GOPAL CHUNDER SEAL**, a very fine, intelligent, and promising youth, unfortunately drowned shortly after his return to India.

RAMMOHEN ROY.

RAJAH RAM ROY.

The following account of this youth was received by Dr. CARPENTER in a letter from India in 1850. "You ask me to give you any corrections (of Dr. G.'s Sermon and Review) that may appear necessary. One has been suggested to me by his native friends, as desirable to be made for the sake of RAMMOHEN ROY's character. The boy RAJAH whom he took with him to England is not his son, not even an adopted son according to the Hindoo form of adoption; but a destitute orphan whom he was led by circumstances to protect and educate. I have a distinct recollection of the particular circumstance under which he stated to me RAJAH came into his hands. And my recollection is confirmed by that of others. Mr. DICK, a civil servant of the Company, found the child helpless and forsaken at one of the fairs at Hurdwar, where from two to three hundred thousand people annually congregated. It is not known whether the parents were Hindoos or Mussulmans, nor whether the parents lost or forsook him; but Mr. DICK had him clothed and fed, and when he was under the necessity of leaving the country for the recovery of his health, he consulted with RAMMOHEN ROY how the child should be disposed of. I well recollect our late friend's benignant exclamation: 'When I saw an Englishman, a Christian, thus caring for the welfare of a poor orphan, could I, a native, hesitate to take him under my care, and provide for him?' Mr. DICK never returned to India, having died, I believe, on the passage to England, and the child remained with RAMMOHEN ROY, who became so fond of him, that I often thought, and sometimes said that he injured him by excessive indulgence." RAJAH RAM ROY returned to India, and has since died.

(G)—P. 101.

It does not appear that the Journal here alluded to was published. During the preparations of this work, information has been received from one of the family of the late JOSEPH HARRIS

NARRATIVE
OF A
VOYAGE TO THE PACIFIC
AND BEERING'S STRAIT

TO CO-OPERATE WITH
THE POLAR EXPEDITION
PERFORMED IN

HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP BLOSSOM,

UNDER THE COMMAND OF
CAPTAIN F. W. BEECHEY, R.N.

R.S. &c

IN THE YEARS 1825, 26, 27, &c.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF
THE ADMIRALTY

VOYAGE

TO THE

PACIFIC AND BEERING'S STRAIT

CHAPTER I.

Arrive at San Francisco—Description of the Harbour, Presidio, and the Missions—Occupations—Dissatisfied State of the Garrison and the Priesthood—Contemplated Plan of settling the Indians in the Missions—Occupations of the converted Indians—Manner of making Converts—Expedition against the Tribe of Cosemenes—Official Despatch—Overland Journey to Monterey—Scarcity of Provisions at that Place—Plan of the Voyage altered in consequence—Departure.

WHEN the day broke, we found ourselves about four miles from the land. It was a beautiful morning, with just sufficient freshness in the air to exhilarate without chilling. The tops of the mountains, the only part of the land visible, formed two ranges, between which our port was situated; though its entrance, as well as the valleys and the low lands, were still covered with the morning mist condensed around the bases of the mountains. We bore up for the opening between the ranges, anxious for the morning to dispel the veil, that we might obtain a view of

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the harbour, and form our judgment of the country in which we were about to pass the next few weeks. As we advanced, the beams of the rising sun gradually descended the hills, until the mist, dispelled from the land, rolled on before the refreshing sea wind, discovering cape after cape, and exhibiting a luxuriant country apparently abounding in wood and rivers. At length two low promontories, the southern one distinguished by a fort and a Mexican flag, marked the narrow entrance of the port.

We spread our sails with all the anxiety of persons who had long been secluded from civilized society, and deprived of wholesome aliment; but after the first effort of the breeze, it died away and left us becalmed in a heavy N. W. swell.

Off the harbour of San Francisco there is a bar which extends from the northern shore, gradually deepening its water until it approaches the peninsula on the opposite side*, where nine fathoms may be carried over it. Of this bar, however, we were ignorant, and naturally steered directly for the harbour, in doing which the depth of water gradually diminished to five fathoms. This would have been of no consequence, had it not been for a swell which rolled so heavily over the bank that it continually broke; and though our depth of water was never less than $4\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms, the ship on two or three occasions disturbed the sand with her keel. The tide was unfortunately against us, and the swell propelled the ship just sufficiently fast for her to steer without gaining any ground, so that we remained in this unpleasant situation several hours.

* The best part for crossing is with the island of Alameda with the fort.

At length a breeze sprung up, and we entered the port, and dropped our anchor in the spot where Vancouver had moored his ship thirty-three years before. As we passed the entrance, a heavy sea rolling violently upon a reef of rocks on our left * bespoke the danger of approaching that side too close in light or baffling winds; while some scattered rocks with deep water round them skirting the shore on our right, marked that side also as dangerous; so that the entrance may be justly considered difficult. Beyond these rocks, however, near the fort, there is a bay in which, if necessary, ships may drop their anchor.

The fort, which we passed upon our right, mounts nine guns, and is built upon a promontory on the south side of the entrance, apparently so near to the precipice, that one side will, before long, be precipitated over it by the gradual breaking away of the rock. Its situation, nevertheless, is good, as regards the defence of the entrance; but it is commanded by a rising ground behind it. As we passed, a soldier protruded a speaking-trumpet through one of the embrasures, and hailed us with a stentorian voice, but we could not distinguish what was said. This custom of hailing vessels has arisen from there being no boat belonging to the garrison, and the inconvenience felt by the governor, in having to wait for a report of arrivals, until the masters of the vessels could send their boats on shore.

The port of San Francisco does not show itself to advantage until after the fort is passed, when it breaks upon the view, and forcibly impresses the spectator with the magnificence of the harbour. He then br

* This reef lies three quarters of a mile from Punta Boneta.

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holds a broad sheet of water, sufficiently extensive to contain all the British navy, with convenient coves, anchorage in every part, and, around, a country diversified with hill and dale, partly wooded, and partly disposed in pasture lands of the richest kind, abounding in herds of cattle. In short, the only objects wanting to complete the interest of the scene are some useful establishments and comfortable residences on the grassy borders of the harbour, the absence of which creates an involuntary regret, that so fine a country, abounding in all that is essential to man, should be allowed to remain in such a state of neglect. So poorly did the place appear to be peopled that a sickly column of smoke rising from within some dilapidated walls, misnamed the presidio or protection, was the only indication we had of the country being inhabited.

The harbour stretches to the S. E. to the distance of thirty miles, and affords a water communication between the missions of San José, Santa Clara, and the presidio, which is built upon a peninsula about five miles in width. On the north the harbour is contracted to a strait, which communicates with a basin ten miles wide, with a channel across it sufficiently deep for frigates, though they cannot come near the land, on account of the mud. A creek on the N. W. side of this basin leads up to the new mission of San Francisco Solano; and a strait to the eastward, named Estrécho de Karquines, communicates with another basin into which three rivers discharge themselves, and bring down so large a body of water that the *estrécho* is from ten to eleven fathoms deep. These rivers are named Jesus Maria, El Sacramento, and San Joachin: the first, I was informed, takes a northerly direction, passes at the back of Bodega, and ex-

tends beyond Cape Mendocino. El Sacramento trends to the N. E., and is said to have its rise in the rocky mountains near the source of the Columbia. The other, San Joachin, stretches to the southward, through the country of the Bolbones, and is divided from the S. E. arm of the harbour by a range of mountains.

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When Langsdorff was at this port, an expedition was undertaken by Don Louis Arguello and Padre Uria to make converts, and to inquire into the nature of the country in the vicinity of the Sierra nevada; and I learned from Don Louis, I believe a son of the commander, that they traced the Sacramento seventy or eighty leagues up, and that it was there very wide and deep, but that he had no boat to ascertain its depth. The Padre had it in contemplation to form a settlement in that direction, which he thought would become very rich in a short time by the number of Indians who would flock to it; but as it was never done, I presume he found material obstacles to his design.

As we opened out the several islands and stopping places in the harbour, we noticed seven American whalers at anchor at Sausalito, not one of which showed their colours; we passed them and anchored off a small bay named Yerba Buena, from the luxuriance of its vegetation, about a league distant from both the presidio and the mission of San Francisco. I immediately went on shore to pay my respects to Don Ignacio Martinez, a lieutenant in the Mexican army, acting governor in the absence of Don Louis, and to the priest, whose name was Tomaso, both of whom gave me a very hospitable and friendly reception, and offered their services in any way they might

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be required. Our first inquiries naturally related to supplies, which we were disappointed to find not at all equal to what had been reported; in short, it seemed that with the exception of flour, fresh beef, vegetables, and salt, which might be procured through the missions, we should have to depend upon the American vessels for whatever else we might want, or upon what might chance to be in store at Monterey, a port of more importance than San Francisco, and from being the residence of a branch of a respectable firm in Lima, better supplied with the means of refitting vessels after a long sea voyage.

It was evident from this report that the supplies were likely to be very inadequate to our wants; but that no opportunity of obtaining them might be lost, I despatched Mr. Collie the surgeon, and Mr. Marsh the purser, overland to Monterey with Mr. Evans as interpreter, with orders to procure for the ship what medicines, provisions, and other stores were to be had, and to negotiate government bills, on which the exchange was far more favourable there than at the Sandwich Islands. The governor politely furnished a passport and a guard for this service; and our hospitable friend Tomaso, the padre of the mission, provided horses for them free of any charge. In the mean time we arranged with a relation of the governor for the daily supply of the ship's company, an arrangement which it afterwards appeared increased the jealousy that had long existed between the presidio and the missions, by transferring to the pocket of the commandant the profits that would otherwise have been reaped by the padre.

We were happy to find the country around our anchorage abounding in game of all kinds, so plentiful,

indeed, as soon to lessen the desire of pursuit; still there were many inducements to both the officers and seamen to land and enjoy themselves; and as it was for the benefit of the service that they should recruit their health and strength as soon as possible, every facility was afforded them. Horses were fortunately very cheap, from nine shillings to seven pounds apiece, so that riding became a favourite amusement; and the Spaniards finding they could make a good market by letting out their stud, appeared with them every Sunday opposite the ship, ready saddled for the occasion, as this was a day on which I allowed every man to go out of the ship. Some of the officers purchased horses and tethered them near the place, but the Spaniards finding this to interfere with their market, contrived to let them loose on the Saturday night, in order that the officers might be compelled to hire others on the following day. The only obstacle to the enjoyment of this amusement was the scarcity of saddles and bridles, some of which cost ten times as much as a decent horse. The ingenuity of the seamen generally obviated these difficulties, while some borrowed or hired saddles of the natives: for my own part, I purchased a decent looking horse for about thirty-five shillings sterling, and on my departure presented it to a Spaniard, who had lent me the necessary accoutrements for it during my stay, which answered the purpose of both parties, as he was pleased with his present, and I had my ride for about a shilling a day: a useful hint to persons who may be similarly circumstanced.

Such of the seamen as would not venture on horseback made parties to visit the presidio and mission, where they found themselves welcome guests with the

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Spanish soldiers. These two places were the only buildings within many miles of us, and they fortunately supplied just enough spirits to allow the people to enjoy themselves with their friends, without indulging in much excess—a very great advantage in a scaport.

The roads leading to these two great places of attraction in a short time became well beaten, and that to the mission very much improved, by having the boughs removed which before overhung it. It was at first in contemplation to hire a Spaniard to lop them; but our pioneers, who stopped at nothing, soon tore them all away, except one, a large stump, which resisted every attack, and unhorsed several of its assailants.

Martinez was always glad to see the officers at the presidio, and made them welcome to what he had. Indeed, nothing seemed to give him greater pleasure, than our partaking of his family dinner; the greater part of which was dressed by his wife and daughters, who prided themselves on their proficiency in the art of cooking. It was not, however, entirely for the satisfaction of presenting us with a well-prepared repast that they were induced to indulge in this humble occupation: poor Martinez had a very numerous offspring to provide for out of his salary, which was then eleven years in arrears. He had a sorry prospect before him, as, a short time previous to our visit, the government, by way of paying up these arrears, sent a brig with a cargo of paper cigars to be issued to the troops in lieu of dollars; but, as Martinez justly observed, cigars would not satisfy the families of the soldiers, and the compromise was refused. The cargo was, however,

landed at Monterey and placed under the charge of the governor, where all other tobacco is contraband; and as the Spaniards are fond of smoking, it stands a fair chance, in the course of time, of answering the intention of the government, particularly as the troops apply for these oftener than they otherwise would, under the impression of clearing off a score of wages that will never be settled in any other manner. Fortunately for Martinez and other veterans in this country, both vegetable and animal food are uncommonly cheap, and there are no fashions to create any expense of dress.

The governor's abode was in a corner of the presidio, and formed one end of a row, of which the other was occupied by a chapel; the opposite side was broken down, and little better than a heap of rubbish and bones, on which jackals, dogs, and vultures were constantly preying, the other two sides of the quadrangle contained storehouses, artificers' shops, and the gaol, all built in the humblest style with badly burnt bricks, and roofed with tiles. The chapel and the governor's house were distinguished by being whitewashed.

Whether viewed at a distance or near, the establishment impresses a spectator with any other sentiment than that of its being a place of authority; and but for a tottering flag-staff, upon which was occasionally displayed the tri-coloured flag of Mexico, three rusty field pieces, and a half accoutred sentinel parading the gateway in charge of a few poor wretches heavily shackled, a visitor would be ignorant of the importance of the place. The neglect of the government to its establishments could not be more thoroughly evinced than in the dilapidated condition of

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the building in question; and such was the dissatisfaction of the people that there was no inclination to improve their situation, or even to remedy many of the evils which they appeared to us to have the power to remove.

The plain upon which the presidio stands is well adapted to cultivation; but it is scarcely ever touched by the plough, and the garrison is entirely beholden to the missions for its resources. Each soldier has nominally about three pounds a month, out of which he is obliged to purchase his provision. If the governor were active, and the means were supplied, the country in the vicinity of the establishment might be made to yield enough wheat and vegetables for the troops, by which they would save that portion of their pay which now goes to the purchase of these necessary articles.

The garrison of San Francisco consists of seventy-six cavalry soldiers and a few artillerymen, distributed between the presidios and the missions, and consequently not more than half a dozen are at any time in one place.

They appeared to us to be very dissatisfied, owing not only to their pay being so many years in arrear, but to the duties which had been imposed both on the importation of foreign articles, and on those of the Mexican territory, amounting in the first instance to forty-two and a half per cent.; whereas, under the old government, two ships were annually sent from Acapulco with goods, which were sold duty free, and at their original cost in that country, and then, also, their pay being regularly discharged, they were able to purchase what they wanted. A further grievance has arisen by the refusal of the government to continue

certain privileges which were enjoyed under the old system. At that time soldiers entered for a term of ten years, at the expiration of which they were allowed to retire to the Pueblós—villages erected for this purpose, and attached to the missions, where the men have a portion of ground allotted to them for the support of their families. This afforded a competency to many; and while it benefited them, it was of service to the government, as the country by that means became settled, and its security increased. But this privilege has latterly been withheld, and the applicants have been allowed only to possess the land and feed their cattle upon it, until it shall please the government to turn them off. The reason of this, I believe, was that Mexico was beginning to turn her attention to California, and was desirous of having settlers there from the southern districts, to whom it would be necessary to give lands; and until they could see what would be required for this purpose and for the government establishments, and had the limits of the property already allotted, defined, they did not wish to make any new grants. The real cause, however, was not explained to the soldiers; they merely heard that they would not have the land ceded to them for life as usual, and they were consequently much dissatisfied.

The same feeling of discontent that was experienced by the garrison, pervaded the missions, in consequence of some new regulations of the republican government, the first and most grievous of which was the discontinuance of a salary of 400 dollars per annum, heretofore allowed to each of the padres: the support the former government had given to the missions amounted, according to Langsdorff, to a million piastres a year. Another grievance was, the requisi-

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tion of an oath of allegiance to the reigning authorities, which these holy men considered so egregious a violation of their former pledge to the king of Spain, that, until he renounced his sovereignty over the country, they could not conscientiously take it; and, much as they were attached to the place in which they had passed a large portion of their lives, and though by quitting it they would be reduced to the utmost penury—yet, so much did they regard this pledge, that they were prepared to leave the country, and to seek an asylum in any other that would afford it them. Indeed, the Prefect preferring his expulsion to renouncing his allegiance, had already received his dismissal, and was ready at the seaport of Monterey to embark in any vessel the government might appoint to receive him. A third grievance, and one which, when duly considered, was of some importance, not only to the missions but to the country in general, was an order to liberate all those converted Indians from the missions who bore good characters, and had been taught the art of agriculture, or were masters of a trade, and were capable of supporting themselves, giving them portions of land to cultivate, so arranged that they should be divided into parishes, with curates to superintend them, subservient to the clergy of the missions, who were to proceed to the conversion of the Indians as usual, and to train them for the domesticated state of society in contemplation.

This philanthropic system at first sight appeared to be a very excellent one, and every friend to the rights of man would naturally join in a wish for its prosperity; but the Mexican government could not have sufficiently considered the state of California, and the disposition of the Indians, or they would have known it

could not possibly succeed without long previous training, and then it would require to be introduced by slow degrees.

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The Indians whom this law emancipated were essential to the support of the missions, not only for conducting their agricultural concerns, but for keeping in subordination by force and example those whom disobedience and ignorance would exempt from the privilege ; and as a necessary consequence of this indulgence the missions would be ruined before the system could be brought into effect, even supposing the Indians capable of conducting their own affairs. So far from this being the case, however, they were known to possess neither the will, the steadiness, nor the patience to provide for themselves. Accustomed, many of them from their infancy, to as much restraint as children, and to execute, mechanically, what they were desired and no more, without even entertaining a thought for their future welfare, it was natural that such persons, when released from this discipline, should abandon themselves entirely to their favourite amusements, pastimes, and vices. Those also who had been converted in later life would return to their former habits, and having once again tasted the blessings of freedom, which confinement and discipline must have rendered doubly desirable, would forget all restraint, and then being joined by the wild discontented Indians, they would be more formidable enemies to the missions than before, inasmuch as they would be more enlightened. But I will not anticipate the result, which we had an opportunity of seeing on our return the following year ; and from which the reader will be able to judge how the system worked.

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The padres, however, dreading the worst, were very discontented, and many would willingly have quitted the country for Manilla. The government appeared to be aware of this feeling, as they sent some young priests from Mexico to supplant those who were disaffected, and desired that they should be trained up in the mission, and should make themselves acquainted with the language and usages of the Indians, in order that they might not promote discontent by any sudden innovation.

The missions have hitherto been of the highest importance to California, and the government cannot be too careful to promote their welfare, as the prosperity of the country in a great measure is dependent upon them, and must continue to be so until settlers from the mother country can be induced to resort thither. As they are of such consequence, I shall enter somewhat minutely into a description of them. In Upper California there are twenty-one of these establishments, of which nine are attached to the presidios of Monterey and San Francisco, and contain about 7000 converts. They are in order as follow from north to south :—

		Converts.	
San Francisco.	Sán Francisco Solano, } established in	1822, about 1000	
	Sán Raphael - -	1817	250
	Sán Francisco - -	1776	260
	Sán José - -	1797	1800
Monterey.	Santa Clara - -	1777	1500
	Santa Cruz - -	1797	300
	Sán Juan - -	1797	1100
	Sán Carlos - -	1770	200
	La Soledad - -	—	500
			<hr/> 6910

Sán Antonio	Buena Vistura	
Sán Miguel	Sán Fernando	
Sán Luis	Sán Gabriel	
De la Purissima	Sán Juan Capistran	
Sánta Ignes	Sán Luis Rey	3000
Sánta Barbara	Sán Tomaso	



I could not learn the number of Indians which are in each of the missions to the southward of Soledád, but they were stated collectively to amount to 20,000 : on this head I must observe that the padres either would not say, or did not know exactly, how many there were, even in their own missions, much less the number contained in those to the southward : and the accounts were at all times so various that the above computation can be only an approximation. Almost all these establishments cultivate large portions of land, and rear cattle, the hides and tallow of which alone form a small trade, of which the importance may be judged from the fact of a merchant at Monterey having paid 36,000 dollars in one year to a mission; which was not one of the largest, for its hide, tallow, and Indian labour. Though the system they pursue is not calculated to raise the colony to any great prosperity, yet the neglect of the missions would not long precede the ruin of the presidios, and of the whole of the district. Indeed, with the exception of two pueblos, containing about seven hundred persons, and a few farm houses widely scattered over the country, there are no other buildings to the northward of Monterey : thus, while the missions furnish the means of subsistence to the presidios, the body of men they contain keeps the wild Indians in check, and prevents their making incursions on the settlers.

Each mission has fifteen square miles of ground allotted to it. The buildings are variously laid out; and adapted in size to the number of Indians which they contain; some are inclosed by a high wall, as at San Carlos, while others consist merely of a few rows of huts, built with sun-burnt mud-bricks; many are whitewashed and tiled, and have a neat and comfortable appearance. It is not, however, every hut that has a white face to exhibit, as that in a great measure depends upon the industry and good conduct of the family who possess it, who are in such a case supplied with lime for the purpose. It is only the married persons and the officers of the establishment who are allowed these huts, the bachelors and spinsters having large places of their own, where they are separately incarcerated every night.

To each mission is attached a well-built church, better decorated in the interior than the external appearance of some would lead a stranger to suppose: they are well supplied with costly dresses for processions and feast days, to strike with admiration the senses of the gazing Indians, and on the whole are very respectable establishments. In some of these are a few tolerable pictures, among many bad ones; and those who have been able to obtain them are always provided with representations of hell and paradise: the former exhibiting in the most disgusting manner all the torments the imagination can fancy, for the purpose of striking terror into the simple Indians, who look upon the performance with fear and trembling. Such representations may perhaps be useful in exhibiting to the dull senses of the Indians what could not be conveyed in any other way, and so far they are desirable in the mission; but to an European the one is

disgusting, and the other ludicrous. Each establishment is under the management of two priests if possible, who in Upper California belong to the mendicant order of San Francisco. They have under them a major-domo, and several subordinate officers, generally Spaniards, whose principal business is to overlook the labour of the Indians.

The object of the missions is to convert as many of the wild Indians as possible, and to train them up within the walls of the establishment in the exercise of a good life, and of some trade, so that they may in time be able to provide for themselves and become useful members of civilized society. As to the various methods employed for the purpose of bringing proselytes to the mission, there are several reports, of which some were not very creditable to the institution: nevertheless, on the whole I am of opinion that the priests are innocent, from a conviction that they are ignorant of the means employed by those who are under them. Whatever may be the system, and whether the Indians be really dragged from their homes and families by armed parties, as some assert, or not, and forced to exchange their life of freedom and wandering for one of confinement and restraint in the missions, the change according to our ideas of happiness would seem advantageous to them, as they lead a far better life in the missions than in their forests, where they are in a state of nudity, and are frequently obliged to depend solely upon wild acorns for their subsistence.

Immediately the Indians are brought to the mission they are placed under the tuition of some of the most enlightened of their countrymen, who teach them to repeat in Spanish the Lord's Prayer and certain ps-

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sages in the Romish litany ; and also, to cross themselves properly on entering the church. In a few days a willing Indian becomes a proficient in these mysteries, and suffers himself to be baptized, and duly initiated into the church. If, however, as it not unfrequently happens, any of the captured Indians show a repugnance to conversion, it is the practice to imprison them for a few days, and then to allow them to breathe a little fresh air in a walk round the mission, to observe the happy mode of life of their converted countrymen ; after which they are again shut up, and thus continue to be incarcerated until they declare their readiness to renounce the religion of their forefathers.

I do not suppose that this apparently unjustifiable conduct would be pursued for any length of time ; and I had never an opportunity of ascertaining the fact, as the Indians are so averse to confinement that they very soon become impressed with the manifestly superior and more comfortable mode of life of those who are at liberty, and in a very few days declare their readiness to have the new religion explained to them. A person acquainted with the language of the parties, of which there are sometimes several dialects in the same mission, is then selected to train them, and having duly prepared them takes his pupils to the padre to be baptized, and to receive the sacrament. Having become Christians they are put to trades, or if they have good voices they are taught music, and form part of the choir of the church. Thus there are in almost every mission weavers, tanners, shoemakers, bricklayers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and other artificers. Others again are taught husbandry, to rear cattle and horses ; and some to cook for the mission ; while the females

card, clean, and spin wool, weave, and sew; and those who are married attend to their domestic concerns.

In requital of these benefits, the services of the Indian, for life, belong to the mission, and if any neophyte should repent of his apostasy from the religion of his ancestors and desert, an armed force is sent in pursuit of him, and drags him back to punishment apportioned to the degree of aggravation attached to his crime. It does not often happen that a voluntary convert succeeds in his attempt to escape, as the wild Indians have a great contempt and dislike for those who have entered the missions, and they will frequently not only refuse to re-admit them to their tribe, but will sometimes even discover their retreat to their pursuers. This animosity between the wild and converted Indians is of great importance to the missions, as it checks desertion, and is at the same time a powerful defence against the wild tribes, who consider their territory invaded, and have other just causes of complaint. The Indians, besides, from political motives, are, I fear, frequently encouraged in a contemptuous feeling towards their unconverted countrymen, by hearing them constantly held up to them in the degrading light of *béstias*! and in hearing the Spaniards distinguished by the appellation of *gente de razón*.

The produce of the land, and of the labour of the Indians, is appropriated to the support of the mission, and the overplus to amass a fund which is entirely at the disposal of the padres. In some of the establishments this must be very large, although the padres will not admit it, and always plead poverty. The government has lately demanded a part of this profit, but the priests who, it is said, think the Indians are

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more entitled to it than the government, make small donations to them, and thus evade the tax by taking care there shall be no overplus. These donations in some of the missions are greater than in others, according as one establishment is more prosperous than another; and on this also, in a great measure, depends the comforts of the dwellings, and the neatness, the cleanliness, and the clothing of the people. In some of the missions much misery prevails, while in others there is a degree of cheerfulness and cleanliness which shows that many of the Indians require only care and proper management to make them as happy as their dull senses will admit of under a life of constraint.

The two missions of *Sán Francisco* and *Sán José* are examples of the contrast alluded to. The former in 1817 contained a thousand converts, who were housed in small huts around the mission; but at present only two hundred and sixty remain—some have been sent, it is true, to the new mission of *Sán Francisco Solano*, but sickness and death have dealt with an unsparing hand among the others. The huts of the absentees, at the time of our visit, had all fallen to decay, and presented heaps of filth and rubbish; while the remaining inmates of the mission were in as miserable a condition as it was possible to conceive, and were entirely regardless of their own comfort. Their hovels afforded scarcely any protection against the weather, and were black with smoke: some of the Indians were sleeping on the greasy floor; others were grinding baked acorns to make into cakes, which constitute a large portion of their food. So little attention indeed had been paid even to health, that in one hut there was a quarter of beef suspended opposite a window in a very offensive and unwholesome state,

but its owners were too indolent to throw it out. San José, on the other hand, was all neatness, cleanliness, and comfort; the Indians* were amusing themselves between the hours of labour at their games; and the children, uniformly dressed in white bodices and scarlet petticoats, were playing at bat and ball. Part of this difference may arise from the habits of the people, who are of different tribes. Langsdorff observes, that the Indians of the mission of San José are the handsomest tribe in California, and in every way a finer race of men; and terms the neophytes of San Francisco pigmies compared with them. I cannot say that this remark occurred to me, and I think it probable that he may have been deceived by the apparently miserable condition of the people of San Francisco.

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The children and adults of both sexes, in all the missions, are carefully locked up every night in separate apartments, and the keys are delivered into the possession of the padre; and as, in the daytime, their occupations lead to distinct places, unless they form a matrimonial alliance, they enjoy very little of each other's society. It, however, sometimes happens that they endeavour to evade the vigilance of their keepers, and are locked up with the opposite sex; but severe corporeal punishment, inflicted in the same manner as is practised in our schools, but with a whip instead of a rod, is sure to ensue if they are discovered. Though there may be occasional acts of tyranny, yet the general character of the padres is kind and benevolent, and in some of the missions, the converts are so much attached to them that I have heard them declare they would go with them, if they were obliged to quit the country. It is greatly to be regretted that with the

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influence these men have over their pupils, and with the regard those pupils seem to have for their masters, that the priests do not interest themselves a little more in the education of their converts, the first step to which would be in making themselves acquainted with the Indian language. Many of the Indians surpass their pastors in this respect, and can speak the Spanish language, while scarcely one of the padres can make themselves understood by the Indians. They have besides, in general, a lamentable contempt for the intellect of these simple people, and think them incapable of improvement beyond a certain point. Notwithstanding this, the Indians are, in general, well clothed and fed; they have houses of their own, and if they are not comfortable, it is, in a great measure, their own fault; their meals are given to them three times a day, and consist of thick gruel made of wheat, Indian corn, and sometimes acorns, to which at noon is generally added meat. Clothing of a better kind than that worn by the Indians is given to the officers of the missions, both as a reward for their services, and to create an emulation in others.

If it should happen that there is a scarcity of provisions, either through failure in the crop, or damage of that which is in store, as they have always two or three years in reserve, the Indians are sent off to the woods to provide for themselves, where, accustomed to hunt and fish, and game being very abundant, they find enough to subsist upon, and return to the mission, when they are required to reap the next year's harvest.

Having served ten years in the mission, an Indian may claim his liberty, provided any respectable settler will become surety for his future good conduct. A

piece of ground is then allotted for his support, but he is never wholly free from the establishment, as part of his earnings must still be given to them. We heard of very few to whom this reward for servitude and good conduct had been granted; and it is not improbable that the padres are averse to it, as it deprives them of their best scholars. When these establishments were first founded, the Indians flocked to them in great numbers for the clothing with which the neophytes were supplied; but after they became acquainted with the nature of the institution, and felt themselves under restraint, many absconded. Even now, notwithstanding the difficulty of escaping, desertions are of frequent occurrence, owing probably, in some cases, to the fear of punishment—in others to the deserters having been originally inveigled into the mission by the converted Indians or the neophytes, as they are called by way of distinction to Los Gentiles, or the wild Indians—in other cases again to the fickleness of their own disposition.

Some of the converted Indians are occasionally stationed in places which are resorted to by the wild tribes for the purpose of offering them flattering accounts of the advantages of the mission, and of persuading them to abandon their barbarous life; while others obtain leave to go into the territory of the Gentiles to visit their friends, and are expected to bring back converts with them when they return. At a particular period of the year, also, when the Indians can be spared from the agricultural concerns of the establishment, many of them are permitted to take the launch of the mission, and make excursions to the Indian territory. All are anxious to go on such occasions, some to visit their friends, some to procure the

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manufactures of their barbarous countrymen, which, by the by, are often better than their own; and some with the secret determination never to return. On these occasions the padres desire them to induce as many of their unconverted brethren as possible to accompany them back to the mission, of course, implying that this is to be done only by persuasion; but the boat being furnished with a cannon and musketry, and in every respect equipped for war, it too often happens that the neophytes, and the gente de razón, who superintend the direction of the boat, avail themselves of their superiority, with the desire of ingratiating themselves with their masters, and of receiving a reward. There are, besides, repeated acts of aggression which it is necessary to punish, all of which furnish proselytes. Women and children are generally the first objects of capture, as their husbands and parents sometimes voluntarily follow them into captivity. These misunderstanding and captivities keep up a perpetual enmity amongst the tribes, whose thirst for revenge is almost insatiable.

We had an opportunity of witnessing the tragical issue of one of these holyday excursions of the neophytes of the mission of San José. The launch was armed as usual, and placed under the superintendence of an alcalde of the mission, who, it appears from one statement (for there are several), converted the party of pleasure either into one of attack for the purpose of procuring proselytes, or of revenge upon a particular tribe for some aggression in which they were concerned. They proceeded up the Rio San Joachin until they came to the territory of a particular tribe named Cosemenes, when they disembarked with the gun, and encamped for the night near the village of Los

Gentiles, intending to make an attack upon them the next morning; but before they were prepared, the *Gentiles*, who had been apprised of their intention, and had collected a large body of friends, became the assailants, and pressed so hard upon the party that, notwithstanding they dealt death in every direction with their cannon and musketry, and were inspired with confidence by the contempt in which they held the valour and tactics of their unconverted countrymen, they were overpowered by numbers, and obliged to seek their safety in flight, and to leave the gun in the woods. Some regained the launch and were saved, and others found their way overland to the mission; but thirty-four of the party never returned to tell their tale.

There were other accounts of this unfortunate affair, one of which accused the padre of authorising the attack; and another stated that it was made in self-defence; but that which I have given appeared to be the most probable. That the reverend father should have sanctioned such a proceeding is a supposition so totally at variance with his character, that it will not obtain credit; and the other was in all probability the report of the alcalde to excuse his own conduct. They all agreed, however, in the fatal termination of their excursion, and the neophytes became so enraged at the news of the slaughter of their companions, that it was almost impossible to prevent them from proceeding forthwith to revenge their deaths. The padre was also greatly displeased at the result of the excursion, as the loss of so many Indians to the mission was of the greatest consequence, and the confidence with which the victory would inspire the Indians was equally alarming. He, therefore, joined with the

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converted Indians in a determination to chastise and strike terror into the victorious tribe, and in concert with the governor planned an expedition against them. The mission furnished money, arms, Indians, and horses, and the presidio provided troops, headed by the alferez, Sanchez, a veteran who had been frequently engaged with the Indians, and was acquainted with every part of the country. The troops carried with them their armour and shields, as a defence against the arrows of the Indians: the armour consisted of a helmet and jerkin made of stout skins, quite impenetrable to an arrow, and the shield might almost vie with that of Ajax in the number of its folds.

The expedition set out on the 19th of November, and we heard nothing of it until the 27th; but two days after the troops had taken the field, some immense columns of smoke rising above the mountains in the direction of the Cosemenes, bespoke the conflagration of the village of the persecuted Gentiles. And on the day above-mentioned, the veteran Sanchez made a triumphant entry into the mission of San José, escorting forty miserable women and children, the gun that had been taken in the first battle, and other trophies of the field. This victory, so glorious, according to the ideas of the conqueror, was achieved with the loss of only one man on the part of the Christians, who was mortally wounded by the bursting of his own gun; but on the part of the enemy it was considerable, as Sanchez the morning after the battle counted forty-one men, women, and children, dead. It is remarkable that none of the prisoners were wounded, and it is greatly to be feared that the Christians, who could scarcely be prevented

om revenging the death of their relations upon those who were brought to the mission, glutted their brutal passion on all the wounded who fell into their hands. The despatch which the alférez wrote to his commanding officer on the occasion of this successful termination of his expedition, will convey the best idea of what was executed, and their manner of conducting such an assault.

Translation—"Journal kept by citizen José Antonio Sanchez, ensign of cavalry of the presidio of San Francisco, during the enterprise against the Gentiles, called Cosemenes, for having put to death the neophytes of the mission of San José."—Written with gunpowder on the field of battle!

"On the morning of the 20th the troop commenced its march, and, after stopping to dine at Las Positas, reached the river San Joachin at eleven o'clock at night, when it halted. This day's march was performed without any accident, except that neighbour José Ancha was nearly losing his saddle. The next day the alférez determined to send forward the 'auxiliary neophytes' to construct balsas* for the troop to pass a river that was in advance of them. The troop followed, and all crossed in safety; but among the last of the horses that forded the river was one belonging to soldier Leandro Flores, who lost his bridle, threw his rider, and kicked him in the face and forehead; and as poor Flores could not swim, he was in a fair way of losing his life before he came within sight of the field of battle: assistance was speedily rendered, and he was saved. As Sanchez wished to surprise the enemy, he encamped until dusk, to avoid

* These are rafts made of rushes, and are the Indian substitute for canoes.

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being seen by the wild Indians, who were travelling the country; several of whom were met and taken prisoners. At five they resumed their march; but neighbour Gexbano Chaboya being taken ill with a pain in his stomach, there was a temporary halt of the army: it however soon set forward again, and arrived at the river of Yachicumé at eleven at night, with only one accident, occasioned by the horse of neighbour Leandro Flores again throwing up his heels, and giving him a formidable fall.

“The troop lay in ambush until five o’clock the next evening, and then set out but here they were distressed by two horses running away; they were however both taken after a short march, which brought them to the river San Francisco, near the rancheria of their enemy the Cosemenes, and where the alférez commanded his troops to prepare for battle, by putting on their cuéros, or armour. The 23d the troop divided, and one division was sent round to intercept the Cosemenes, who had discovered the Christians, and were retreating; some of whom they made prisoners, and immediately the firing began. It had lasted about an hour, when the musket of soldier José Maria Garnez burst, and inflicted a mortal wound in his forehead; but this misfortune did not hinder the other soldiers from firing: The Gentiles also opened their fire of arrows, and the skirmishing became general. Towards noon a shout was heard in the north quarter, and twenty Gentiles were seen skirmishing with three Christians, two on foot and one on horseback, and presently another shout was heard, and the Christians were seen flying, and the Gentiles in pursuit of them, who had already captured the horse.

"It was now four o'clock, and the *alférez*, seeing that the Gentiles, who were in ambush, received little injury, disposed every thing for the retreat of the troops, and having burnt the rancheria, and seen some dead bodies, he retreated three quarters of a league, and encamped for the night. On the 24th the troops divided into two parties, one charged with booty and prisoners amounting to forty-four souls, mostly women.

"The other party went with the veteran Sanchez to the rancheria, to reconnoitre the dead bodies of which he counted forty-one men, women, and children. They met with an old woman there, the only one that was left alive, who was in so miserable a state that they showed their compassion by *taking no account of her*. The *alférez* then set out in search of the cannon that had been abandoned by the first expedition. The whole of the troop afterwards retreated, and arrived at the mission of *Sán José* on the night of the 27th."

This truly ludicrous account of an expedition of such trifling importance might appear to require an apology for its insertion, but it conveys so good an idea of the opposition to be expected by any power which might think proper to land upon the coast of California, that its omission might fairly be considered a neglect.

The prisoners they had captured were immediately enrolled in the list of the mission, except a nice little boy, whose mother was shot while running away with him in her arms, and he was sent to the presidio, and was, I heard, given to the *alférez* as a reward for his services. The poor little orphan had received a slight wound in his forehead; he wept bitterly at first, and refused to eat, but in time became reconciled to his fate.

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Those who were taken to the mission were immediately converted, and were daily taught by the neophytes to repeat the Lord's prayer and certain hymns in the Spanish language. I happened to visit the mission about this time, and saw these unfortunate beings under tuition; they were clothed in blankets, and arranged in a row before a blind Indian, who understood their dialect, and was assisted by an alcalde to keep order. Their tutor began by desiring them to kneel, informing them that he was going to teach them the names of the persons composing the Trinity, and that they were to repeat in Spanish what he dictated.

The neophytes being thus arranged, the speaker began, "Santísima Trinidad, Dios, Jesu Cristo, Espíritu Santo"—pausing between each name, to listen if the simple Indians, who had never spoken a Spanish word before, pronounced it correctly, or any thing near the mark. After they had repeated these names satisfactorily, their blind tutor, after a pause added, "Santos"—and recapitulated the names of a great many saints, which finished the morning's tuition. I did not attend the next schooling to hear what was the ensuing task, but saw them arranged on their knees, repeating Spanish words as before.

They did not appear to me to pay much attention to what was going forward, and I observed to the padre that I thought their teachers had an arduous task, but he said they had never found any difficulty; that the Indians were accustomed to change their own gods, and that their conversion was in a measure habitual to them. I could not help smiling at this reason of the padre, but have no doubt it was very true; and that the party I saw would feel as little

compunction at apostatizing again, whenever they should have an opportunity of returning to their own tribe.

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The expenses of the late expedition fell heavy upon the mission, and I was glad to find that the padre thought it was paying very dear for so few converts, as in all probability it will lessen his desire to undertake another expedition; and the poor Indians will be spared the horrors of being butchered by their own countrymen, or dragged from their homes into perpetual captivity. He was also much concerned to think the Cosemenes had stood their ground so firmly, and he was under some little apprehension of an attack upon the mission. Impressed with this idea, and in order to defend himself the more effectually, he begged me to furnish him with a few fireworks, which he thought would strike terror into his enemies in case of necessity.

Morning and evening mass are daily performed in the missions, and high mass as it is appointed by the Romish Church, at which all the converted Indians are obliged to attend. The commemoration of the anniversary of the patroness saint took place during my visit at San José, and high mass was celebrated in the church. Before the prayers began, there was a procession of the young female Indians, with which I was highly pleased. They were neatly dressed in scarlet petticoats, and white bodices, and walked in a very orderly manner to the church, where they had places assigned to them apart from the males. After the bell had done tolling, several alguazils went round to the huts, to see if all the Indians were at church, and if they found any loitering within them, they exercised with tolerable freedom a long lash with a

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broad thong at the end of it; a discipline which appeared the more tyrannical, as the church was not sufficiently capacious for all the attendants, and several sat upon the steps without; but the Indian women who had been captured in the affair with the Cosemenes were placed in a situation where they could see the costly images, and vessels of burning incense, and every thing that was going forward.

The congregation was arranged on both sides of the building, separated by a wide aisle passing along the centre, in which were stationed several alguazils with whips, canes, and goads, to preserve silence and maintain order, and, what seemed more difficult than either, to keep the congregation in their kneeling posture. The goads were better adapted to this purpose than the whips, as they would reach a long way, and inflict a sharp puncture without making any noise. The end of the church was occupied by a guard of soldiers under arms, with fixed bayonets; a precaution which I suppose experience had taught the necessity of observing. Above them there was a choir consisting of several Indian musicians, who performed very well indeed on various instruments, and sang the Te Deum in a very passable manner. The congregation was very attentive, but the gratification they appeared to derive from the music furnished another proof of the strong hold this portion of the ceremonies of the Romish church takes upon uninformed minds.

The worthy and benevolent priests of the mission devote almost the whole of their time to the duties of the establishment, and have a fatherly regard for those placed under them who are obedient and diligent; and too much praise cannot be bestowed upon them,

considering that they have relinquished many of the enjoyments of life, and have embraced a voluntary exile in a distant and barbarous country. The only amusement which my hospitable host of the mission of San José indulged in, during my visit to that place, was during meal times, when he amused himself by throwing pancakes to the *muchachos*, a number of little Indian domestics, who stood gaping round the table. For this purpose, he had every day two piles of pancakes made of Indian corn; and as soon as the olla was removed, he would fix his eyes upon one of the boys, who immediately opened his mouth, and the padre, rolling up a cake, would say something ludicrous in allusion to the boy's appetite, or to the size of his mouth, and pitch the cake at him, which the imp would catch between his teeth, and devour with incredible rapidity, in order that he might be ready the sooner for another, as well as to please the padre, whose amusement consisted in a great measure in witnessing the sudden disappearance of the cake. In this manner the piles of cakes were gradually distributed among the boys, amidst much laughter, and occasional squabbling.

Nothing could exceed the kindness and consideration of these excellent men to their guests and to travellers, and they were seldom more pleased than when any one paid their mission a visit: we always fared well there, and even on fast days were provided with fish dressed in various ways, and preserves made with the fruit of the country. We had, however, occasionally some difficulty in maintaining our good temper, in consequence of the unpleasant remarks which the difference of our religion brought from the padres, who were very bigoted men, and invariably

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introduced this subject. At other times they were very conversible, and some of them were ingenious and clever men; but they had been so long excluded from the civilized world, that their ideas and their politics, like the maps pinned against the walls, bore date of 1772, as near as I could read it for fly spots. Their geographical knowledge was equally backward, as my host at *Sán José* had never heard of the discoveries of Captain Cook; and because *Otaheite* was not placed upon his chart, he would scarcely credit its existence.

The Indians after their conversion are quiet and tractable, but extremely indolent, and given to intoxication, and other vices. Gambling in particular they indulge in to an unlimited extent: they pledge the very clothes on their backs, and not unfrequently have been known to play for each other's wives. They have several games of their own, besides some with cards, which have been taught them by the Spaniards. Those which are most common, and are derived from the wild Indians, are *toussé*, called by the Spaniards *pares y nones*, odd or even; *escondido*, or hunt the slipper; and *takersia*.

The first, though sometimes played as in England, generally consists in concealing a piece of wood in one hand, and holding out both for the guessing party to declare in which it is contained. The intense interest that is created by its performance has been amusingly described by *Pérouse*. The second, *escondido*, needs no description; the last, *takersia*, requires some skill to play well, and consists in rolling a circular piece of wood with a hole in its centre along the ground, and throwing a spear through it as it rolls. If the spear pierces the hole, it counts ten

towards the game; and if it arrests the wood in such a manner that it falls upon the spear, two is reckoned. It is a sport well calculated to improve the art of throwing the spear: but the game requires more practice to play it well than the Indians usually bestow upon it.

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At some of the missions they pursue a custom said to be of great antiquity among the aborigines, and which appears to afford them much enjoyment. A mud house, or rather a large oven, called *temeschal* by the Spaniards, is built in a circular form, with a small entrance, and an aperture in the top for the smoke to escape through. Several persons enter this place quite naked and make a fire near the door, which they continue to feed with wood as long as they can bear the heat. In a short time they are thrown into a most profuse perspiration, they wring their hair, and scrape their skin with a sharp piece of wood or an iron hoop, in the same manner as coach horses are sometimes treated when they come in heated; and then plunge into a river or pond of cold water, which they always take care shall be near the *temeschal*.

A similar practice to this is mentioned by Shelekoff as being in use among the Konaghi, a tribe of Indians near Cook's River, who have a method of heating the oven with hot stones, by which they avoid the discomfort occasioned by the wood smoke; and, instead of scraping their skin with iron or bone, rub themselves with grass and twigs.

Formerly the missions had small villages attached to them, in which the Indians lived in a very filthy state; these have almost all disappeared since Vancouver's visit, and the converts are disposed of in huts as before described; and it is only when sickness prevails to a

great extent that it is necessary to erect these habitations, in order to separate the sick from those who are in health. Sickness in general prevails to an incredible extent in all the missions, and on comparing the census of the years 1786 and 1813, the proportion of deaths appears to be increasing. At the former period there had been only 7,701 Indians baptized, out of which 2,388 had died; but in 1813 there had been 37,437 deaths to only 57,328 baptisms.

The establishments are badly supplied with medicines, and the reverend fathers, their only medical advisers, are inconceivably ignorant of the use of them. In one mission there was a seaman who pretended to some skill in pharmacy, but he knew little or nothing of it, and perhaps often did more harm than good. The Indians are also extremely careless and obstinate, and prefer their own simples to any other remedies, which is not unfrequently the occasion of their disease having a fatal termination.

The Indians in general submit quietly to the discipline of the missions, yet insurrections have occasionally broken out, particularly in the early stage of the settlement, when father Tamoral and other priests suffered martyrdom.* In 1823, also, a priest was murdered in a general insurrection in the vicinity of San Luis Rey; and in 1827, the soldiers of the garrison were summoned to quell another riot in the same quarter.

The situations of the missions, particularly that of San José, are in general advantageously chosen. Each establishment has fifteen square miles of ground, of which part is cultivated, and the rest appropriated to

* Noticias de California, by Miguel Venegas.

the grazing and rearing of cattle; for in portioning out the ground, care has been taken to avoid that which is barren. The most productive farms are held by the missions of San José, Santa Clara, San Juan, and Santa Cruz. That of San Francisco appears to be badly situated, in consequence of the cold fogs from the sea, which approach the mission through several deep valleys, and turn all the vegetation brown that is exposed to them, as is the case in Shetland with the tops of every tree that rises above the walls. Still, with care, more might be grown in this mission than it is at present made to produce. Santa Cruz is rich in supplies, probably on account of the greater demand by merchant vessels, whalers in particular, who not unfrequently touch there the last thing on leaving the coast, and take on board what vegetables they require; the quantity of which is so considerable, that it not unfrequently happens that the missions are for a time completely drained. On this account it is advisable, on arriving at any of the ports, to take an early opportunity of ordering every thing that may be required.

A quantity of grain, such as wheat and Indian corn, is annually raised in all the missions, except San Francisco, which, notwithstanding it has a farm at Burri Burri, is sometimes obliged to have recourse to the other establishments. Barley and oats are said to be scarcely worth the cultivation, but beans, pease, and other leguminous vegetables are in abundance, and fruit is plentiful. The land requires no manure at present, and yields on an average twenty for one. San José reaps about 3,000 fanegas* of wheat annually.

Hides and tallow constitute the principal riches of the

* A fanega is one hundred pounds weight.

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missions, and the staple commodity of the commerce of the country: a profitable revenue might also be derived from grain were the demand for it on the coast such as to encourage them to cultivate a larger quantity than is required by the Indians attached to the missions. *Sán José*, which possesses 15,000 head of cattle, cures about 2,000 hides annually, and as many bótas of tallow, which are either disposed of by contract to a mercantile establishment at Monterey, or to vessels in the harbour. The price of these hides may be judged by their finding a ready market on the Lima coast. Though there are a great many sheep in the country, as may be seen by the mission, *Sán José* alone possessing 3,000, yet there is no export of wool, in consequence of the consumption of that article in the manufacture of cloth for the missions.

Husbandry is still in a very backward state, and it is fortunate that the soil is so fertile, and that there are abundance of labourers to perform the work, or I verily believe the people would be contented to live upon acorns. Their ploughs appear to have descended from the patriarchal ages, and it is only a pity that a little of the skill and industry then employed upon them should not have devolved upon the present generation. It will scarcely be credited by agriculturists in other countries, that there were seventy ploughs and two hundred oxen at work upon a piece of light ground of ten acres; nor did the overseers appear to consider that number unnecessary, as the padre called our attention to this extraordinary advancement of the Indians in civilization, and pointed out the most able workmen as the ploughs passed us in succession. The greater part of these ploughs followed in the same furrow without making much im-

pression, until they approached the padre, when the ploughman gave the necessary inclination of the hand, and the share got hold of the ground. It would have been good policy for the padre to have moved gradually along the field, by which he would have had it properly ploughed; but he seemed to be quite satisfied with the performance. Several of the missions, but particularly that of *Santa Barbara*, make a wine resembling claret, though not near so palatable, and they also distil an ardent spirit resembling arrack.

In this part of California, besides the missions, there are several pueblos, or villages, occupied by Spaniards and their families, who have availed themselves of the privileges granted by the old government, and have relinquished the sword for the ploughshare. There are also a few settlers who are farmers, but, with these exceptions, the country is almost uninhabited. Perhaps I cannot convey a better idea of the deserted state of the country, or of the capability of its soil, than by inserting a short narrative which I have compiled from the journals of three of my officers who travelled over land from *San Francisco* to "the famous port of *Monterey*."

I have already stated that it was found expedient to make this journey to learn whether any supplies could be procured for the ship; and in consequence Mr. Collie, the surgeon, Mr. Marsh, the purser, and Mr. Evans, who was well acquainted with the Spanish language, were requested to proceed on this service. As it was of importance that no time should be lost in acquiring this information, they had very little time allowed them to prepare for so long, and, to seamen, so unusual a journey; but as the mode of travelling in that rude country admitted but few incumbrances, the

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omission of these preparations was of less consequence.

In order to reach a tolerable halting place for the night, the first day's journey was necessarily long, and consequently by daylight on the 9th November the three officers were on their road to the mission; having found horses and an escort prepared in pursuance of previous arrangements.

Setting off at a round trot, they made the best of their way over three or four miles of ground so overgrown with dwarf oaks and other trees, that they were every moment in danger of being thrown from their horses, or having their eyes torn out by the branches as they passed. In half an hour, however, they reached the mission of San Francisco; and soon forgot the little annoyances they had hitherto met with in the hospitable welcome of the good priest, who regaled them with excellent pears and new milk. Nor was his conversation less palatable than his cheer; for, notwithstanding the introduction of half a dozen unnecessary *si senors* in each sentence, he contrived to amuse the vacant time with a flow of most genuine humour, for which Tomaso was always prepared, till the rattling accoutrements of a Californian dragoon announced the arrival of the passport from the governor. Intrusting their baggage to the care of two *vaqueros* (Indian cattle drivers) who were to accompany them, and receiving each a blessing from the padre, they set off with their escort about ten o'clock in the forenoon. The cavalcade consisted of three officers of the Blossom, the two *vaqueros*, and their champion the dragoon, preceded by nine or ten loose horses, driven on before as a relay, to be used when those they mounted should become fatigued. These

Rozinantes are not much inclined to deviate from the road, but if any thing should inspire them with a spirit of straying, the unerring lasso, the never-failing appendage to a Californian saddlebow, soon embraces their neck or their feet, and brings them back again to the right way.

I must not, however, permit the party to proceed farther without introducing to the notice of the reader the costume and equipment of this dragoon of California. As for his person, I do not find it described, but his dress consisted of a round blue cloth jacket with red cuffs and collar; blue velvet breeches, which being unbuttoned at the knees, gave greater display to a pair of white cotton stockings, cased more than half way in a pair of deer-skin boots. A black hat, as broad in the brim as it was disproportionably low in the crown, kept in order, by its own weight, a profusion of dark hair, which met behind, and dangled half way down the back in the form of a thick queue. A long musket, with a fox skin bound round the lock, was balanced upon the pommel of the saddle; and our hero was further provided for defence against the Indians with a bull's hide shield, on which, notwithstanding the revolution of the colony, were emblazoned the royal arms of Spain, and by a double-fold deer skin cuirass as a covering for his body. Thus accoutred he bestrode a saddle, which retained him in his seat by a high pommel in front and a corresponding rise behind. His feet were armed at the heels with a tremendous pair of iron spurs, secured by a metal chain; and were thrust through an enormous pair of wooden box-shaped stirrups. Such was the person into whose charge our shipmates were placed by the governor, with a passport which com-

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manded him not to permit any person to interfere with the party either in its advance or on its return, and that it was to be escorted from place to place by a soldier.

Leaving the mission of *Sán Francisco*, the party receded from the only part of the country that is wooded for any considerable distance, and ascended a chain of hills about a thousand feet in height, where they had an extensive view, comprehending the sea, the *Farallones* rocks, and the distant *Punta de los Reyes*, a headland so named by the expedition under *Sebastian Viscaino* in 1602. The ridge which afforded this wide prospect was called *Sierra de San Bruno*, and for the most part was covered with a burnt-up grass, but such places as were bare presented to the eye of the geologist rocks of sandstone conglomerate, intersected by a few veins of jasper. Winding through the *Sierre de San Bruno*, they crossed a river of that name, and opened out the broad arm of the sea which leads from the port to *Santa Clara*, and is confined between the chain they were traversing and the *Sierra de los Bolbones*, distinguishable at a distance by a peaked mountain 3,783 feet high by trigonometrical measurement. Upon the summit of that part of the sierra bordering the arm of sea called *Estrecho de San José*, a thick wood, named *Palos Colorados* from its consisting principally of red cedar pine, stands conspicuous on the ridge. I mention this particularly, and wish to call attention to the circumstance, as the straggling trees at the south extreme of the wood are used as landmarks for avoiding a dangerous rock which we discovered in the harbour, and named after the Blossom.

About noon they reached a small cottage named

Burri Burri, about twelve miles from San Francisco; and being unused to travelling, especially upon Californian saddles, which are by no means constructed for comfort, they determined to rest, until the baggage that had been left in the rear should overtake them. The house in which they lodged was a small miserable mud cottage full of holes, which, however, afforded them some repose and some new milk. Its inhabitants had been engaged in tanning, in which process they used a liquid extracted from oak bark, contained in a hide suspended by the corners. They had also collected in great quantities a very useful root called in that country *amoles*, which seems to answer all the purposes of soap. —

From Burri Burri, a continuation of the Sierra de San Bruno passes along the centre of the peninsula formed by the sea and the Estrecho de San José, and is separated from this arm of the harbour by a plain, upon which the travellers now descended from the mountains, and journied at a more easy and agreeable rate than they had done on the rugged paths among the hills. This plain near the sea is marshy, and having obtained the name of Las Salinas is probably overflowed occasionally by the sea. The number of wild geese which frequent it is quite extraordinary, and indeed would hardly be credited by any one who had not seen them covering whole acres of ground, or rising in myriads with a clang that may be heard at a very considerable distance. They are said to arrive in California in November, and to remain there until March. Their flesh in general is hard and fishy, but it was reported by padre Luis Gil, of the mission of Santa Cruz, that those which have yellow feet are exceptions to this, and are excellent eating. The

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blackbirds are almost equally numerous, and in their distant flight resemble clouds. Among the marshes there were also a great many storks and cranes, which in San Francisco have the reputation of affording a most delicious repast.

Travelling onward, the hills on their right, known in that part as the Sierra del Sur, began to approach the road, which passing over a small eminence, opened out upon a wide country of meadow land, with clusters of fine oak free from underwood. It strongly resembled a nobleman's park: herds of cattle and horses were grazing upon the rich pasture, and numerous fallow-deer, startled at the approach of strangers bounded off to seek protection among the hills. The resemblance, however, could be traced no further. Instead of a noble mansion, in character with so fine a country, the party arrived at a miserable mud dwelling, before the door of which a number of half-naked Indians were basking in the sun. Several dead geese, deprived of their entrails, were fixed upon pegs around a large pole, for the purpose of decoying the living game into snares, which were placed for them in favourable situations. Heaps of bones also of various animals were lying about the place, and sadly disgraced the park-like scenery around. This spot is named San Matheo, and belongs to the mission of San Francisco.

Quitting this spot, they arrived at a farm-house about half way between San Francisco and Santa Clara, called Las Pulgas (fleas); a name which afforded much mirth to our travellers, in which they were heartily joined by the inmates of the dwelling, who were very well aware that the name had not been bestowed without cause. It was a miserable habitation, with scarcely any furniture, surrounded by

decaying hides and bones. Still, fatigue renders repose sweet upon whatsoever it can be indulged, and our party were glad enough to stretch themselves awhile upon a creaking couch, the only one in the hut, notwithstanding that the owner had a numerous family. Here, had there been accommodation, and had the place not acquired the reputation its name conveys, they would willingly have ended their day's journey; but the idea of *las pulgas*, sufficiently numerous in all the houses of California, determined them to proceed as soon as they conveniently could. The plain still continued animated with herds of cattle, horses, and sheep grazing; but the noble clusters of oak were now varied with shrubberies, which afforded a retreat to numerous coveys of Californian partridges, of which handsome species of game the first specimen was brought to England by the Blossom, and is now living in the gardens of the Zoological Society. They are excellent food; and the birds, in the country now under description, are so tame that they would often not start from a stone directed with Indian skill.

The sun went down before they reached Santa Clara, which was to terminate that day's journey, and being unaccustomed to ride, the whole party were thoroughly fatigued. Indeed, so wearying was the journey even to the animals that bore them, that but for the relays of horses, which were now brought in with a lasso, they might have been compelled to pass the night upon the plain among the geese, the jackals, and the bears, which in the vicinity of Santa Clara are by no means scarce. The pleasure of removing from a jaded horse to one that is fresh is not unknown probably to my readers, and our party rode

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in comparative comfort the remainder of the journey, and reached the mission of Santa Clara at eight o'clock.

Santa Clara, distant by the road about forty miles from San Francisco, is situated in the extensive plain before described, which here, however, becomes more marshy than that part of the ground over which they had just travelled. It nevertheless continues to be occupied by herds of cattle, horses, sheep, and flocks of geese. Here, also, troops of jackals prowl about in the most daring manner, making the plain resound with their melancholy howlings; and indeed both wild and domesticated animals seem to lose their fear and become familiar with their tyrant man. The buildings of the establishment, which was founded in 1768, consists of a church, the dwelling-house of the priests, and five rows of buildings for the accommodation of 1,400 Indians, who since Vancouver's visit, have been thus provided with comparatively comfortable dwellings, instead of occupying straw huts, which were always wet and miserable. Attached to these are some excellent orchards, producing an abundance of apples and pears. Olives and grapes are also plentiful, and the padres are enabled to make from the latter about twenty barrels of wine annually. They besides grow a great quantity of wheat, beans, peas, and other vegetables. On the whole this is one of the best regulated and most cleanly missions in the country. Its herds of cattle amount to 10,000 in number, and of horses there are about 300.

When our travellers visited the mission it was governed by padres José and Machin, two priests of the mendicant order of San Francisco, to which class belong all the priests in Upper California. They ap-

seemed to lead a comfortable life, though not over well provided with its luxuries.

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We will not, however, pry too narrowly into the internal arrangements of the good fathers' dwelling; let it suffice, that they gave our travellers a cordial welcome, and entertained them at their board in a most hospitable manner. After joining them in a dram of aquadente, they allowed their guests to retire to their sleeping apartment, where, stretched upon couches of bull-hide as tough and impenetrable as the cuirass of their friend the dragoon (who left them at this place), they soon fell asleep—thanks to excessive weariness—and slept as soundly as *las pulgas* would let them.

Having breakfasted the following morning with the padres, and being provided with fresh horses, a new escort and vaqueros, the party was about to start, but were delayed by the punishment of an Indian who had stolen a blanket, for which he received two dozen lashes with a leathern thong upon that part of the human frame, which, we learn from *Hudibras*, is the most susceptible of insult. Some other Indians were observed to be heavily shackled, but the causes of their punishment were not stated.

A beautiful avenue of trees, nearly three miles in length, leads from the mission to the pueblo of San José, the largest settlement of the kind in Upper California. It consists of mud houses miserably provided in every respect, and contains about 500 inhabitants—retired soldiers and their families, who under the old government were allowed the privilege of forming settlements of this nature, and had a quantity of ground allotted to them for the use of their cattle. They style themselves *Gente de Razón*,

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to distinguish them from the Indians, whose intellectual qualities are frequent subjects of animadversion amongst these enlightened communities. They are governed by an alcalde, and have a chapel of their own, at which one of the priests of the mission occasionally officiates.

About eighteen miles from Santa Clara, the party alighted upon the banks of a limpid stream, the first they had seen in their ride. It was too favourable a spot to be passed, and placing some milk and pears, which had been furnished by the hospitable priests at the mission, under the cool shade of an aliso-tree, they regaled themselves for a few minutes, and then resumed their journey. At the distance of eight leagues from Santa Clara, they passed some remarkable hills near the coast named *El ojo del cóche*; and a few miles further on, they descended into the plain of *Las Llagas*, so called from a battle which took place between the first settlers and the Indians, in which many of the former were wounded. Stopping towards the extremity of this fertile plain at some cottages, named *Ranchas de las ánimas*, the only habitations they had seen since the morning, they dined upon some jerk beef, which, according to the old custom in this and other Spanish colonies, was served in silver dishes. Silver cups and spoons were also placed before our travellers, offering a singular incongruity with the humble wooden benches, that were substituted for chairs, and with the whole arrangement of the room, which, besides the board of smoking jerk beef, contained beds for the family, and a horse harnessed to a flour mill.

Leaving Llano de las Llagas, they ascended a low range of hills, and arrived at a river appropriately

named Rio de los Pájaros, from the number of wild ducks which occasionally resort thither. The banks of this river are thickly lined with wood, and being very steep in many places, the party wound, with some difficulty, round the trunks of the trees and over the inequalities of the ground ; but their Californian steeds, untrammelled with shoes, and accustomed to all kinds of ground, never once stumbled. They rode for some time along the banks of this river, which, though so much broken, were very agreeable, and crossing the stream a few miles lower down, they left it to make its way towards the sea in a south-west direction, and themselves entered upon the Llano de San Juan, an extensive plain surrounded by mountains. It should have been told, before the party reached thus far, that as they were riding peaceably over the Llano de las Animas, the clanking of their guide's huge broadsword, which had been substituted for the long musket of the soldier from the presidio, drew the attention of the party to his pursuit of a wild mountain-cat, which he endeavoured to ensnare with his lasso for the sake of its skin, which is said to be valuable. Two of these cats, which in species approach the ocelot, were shot by our sportsmen at San Francisco. Their skins were preserved to be brought to this country, but on opening the collection they were not found, and we have reason to suspect that a man who assisted the naturalist disposed of these, as well as many other specimens, to his own advantage.

Twilight approached as the party drew near to the mission of San Juan, where they alighted, after a ride of fifty-four miles, just as the bell tolled for vespers, and, stiff and tired, gladly availed themselves of the accommodation afforded by padre Arroyo, who in

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hospitality and good humour endeavoured to exceed even the good father of Santa Clara. This worthy man was a native of Old Castile, and had resided in California since 1804, dividing his time between the duties of his holy avocation and various ingenious inventions. Supper was served in very acceptable time to the fatigued visitors, and the good-natured padre used every persuasion to induce them to do justice to his fare; treating them to several appropriate proverbs, such as "Un dia alegre vale cien años de pesadumbre," (one day of mirth is worth a hundred years of grief,) and many more to the same purpose. Though so many summers had passed over his head in exile, his cheerfulness seemed in no way diminished, and he entertained his guests with a variety of anecdotes of the Indians and of their encounters with the bears too long to be repeated here. Nor was his patriotism more diminished than his cheerfulness, and on learning that one of the party had been at the siege of Cadiz, his enthusiasm broke forth in the celebrated Spanish patriotic song of "España de la guerra, &c." Having served them with what he termed the *viatico*, consisting of a plentiful supply of cold fricole beans, bread, and eggs, he led the party to their sleeping apartment amidst promises of horses for the morrow, and patriotic songs of his country adapted to the well-known air of Malbrook. Interrupting the good man's enthusiasm, they endeavoured to persuade the priest to allow them to proceed early in the morning, before the commencement of mass; this, however, was impossible, and he shut them into their apartment, repeating the proverb, "Oír misa y dar cebada no impide jornada," (to hear mass and bestow alms will not retard your journey).

When the morning came, it was a holiday, and the vaquéros, not at all disposed to lose their recreation, had decamped with the saddles, and the party were obliged to pass the day at San Juan. After a small cup of chocolate, and a strip of dry bread, the only meal ever served in the missions until twelve o'clock; the party strolled over the grounds, and visited about thirty huts belonging to some newly converted Indians of the tribe of Tooleerayos (*bulrushes*). Their tents were about thirty-five feet in circumference, constructed with pliable poles fixed in the ground and drawn together at the top, to the height of twelve or fifteen feet. They are then interwoven with small twigs and covered with bulrushes, having an aperture at the side to admit the inhabitants, and another at the top to let out the smoke. The exterior appearance of these wretched wigwams greatly resembles a bee-hive. In each dwelling were nine or ten Indians of both sexes, and of all ages, nearly in a state of nudity, huddled round a fire kindled in the centre of the apartment, a prey to vermin, and presenting a picture of misery and wretchedness seldom beheld in even the most savage state of society. They seemed to have lost all the dignity of their nature; even the black-birds (*oriolus niger*) had ceased to regard them as human beings, and were feeding in flocks among the wigwams. This was said to be the state in which the Indians naturally live, and the reader will not be surprised to hear that this party had voluntarily come from the mountains to be converted, and to join their civilized brethren at the mission. Happy would it be for these savages could they be once taught to make a proper use of that freedom which ought to follow their conversion to the pure religion of Christ, even under the restrained

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form of Catholicism, that their minds might become by this means sufficiently improved to allow of their settling in independent Christian communities; but, judging from their present mental capacity, it must be long before so great and desirable a change can be effected. The experiment of liberating the Indians has been tried and has failed; * and appearances certainly justify the assertion that the Indian is happier under control than while indulging his free soul in the wilds of his native country.

What might seem a remarkable example of this was met with on turning from the dwelling of wretchedness just described to a scene of the greatest mirth and happiness amongst some converted Indians, who were passing their holiday in amusement. Some were playing at *takersia*, a game which, as already described, consists in trundling a hoop, or rather a piece of wood with a hole in it, and in endeavouring to pierce it with a short lance as it rolls. Another party were playing at a game resembling *hockey*, and in various parts of the plain adjoining the mission many others were engaged in pleasant recreations, passing their day in exercise, content, and enjoyment.

In the neighbouring meadows there were several large herds of cattle; and the geese settled there in flocks, as at the mission of Santa Clara. The rocks, where they protruded, were ascertained by Mr. Collie to be sandstone conglomerate with a calcareous basis.

The welcome peal of the mission bell assembled the party at dinner; but the padre, who for some time before had been earnestly engaged in endeavouring to

* The effect of emancipation on the Indians is spoken of more at large in an after part of this work.

convert one of his heretic guests, was unwilling to quit the train of theological disquisition which in his own opinion he had almost brought to successful issue, until reminded by his other visitors, who had not been accustomed to go so long without their breakfast, that they required something more substantial.

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I will not attempt to stimulate the appetite of my reader by enumerating the various exquisite dishes which successively smoked on the board of the generous priest, suffice it that there were many good ones, as the padres in California are careful to have their table well supplied at all times of the year, and have an indulgence from the pope to eat meat even during the greater part of Lent, in consequence of the difficulty of procuring fish.

Having performed the honours of the table, padre Arroyo retired to indulge his usual siesta: this, however, caused but a brief suspension to the efforts he most industriously continued to make for the purpose of converting his heretical opponent to the true faith, reading him innumerable lectures in refutation of the Lutheran and Calvinistic doctrines, and in favour of the pope's supremacy, infallibility, and power of remitting offences.

It more than once occurred to the party—and I believe, not without good foundation for their opinion—that it was the hope of success in this conversion which occasioned all the little manœuvring to delay them, that I have before described. But having at length given his pupil over as irrevocably lost, he consented to their departure on the following morning. The padre appeared to be of an active mind, and had constructed a water clock which communicated with a

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bell by his bedside, and which by being arranged at night could be made to give an alarm at any stated hour.

It was here that our travellers were surprised at the intelligence of the north-west passage having been effected by a Spaniard, and were not a little amused at the idea of having stumbled upon the long-sought north-west passage in an obscure mission of California.

The padre, however, was quite in earnest, and produced a work published by the Duke of Almodobar, Director of the Royal Academy in Spain, in which was transcribed at full length the fictitious voyage of Maldonado. It was in vain they endeavoured to persuade the padre that this voyage was not real, seeing that it bore even in its detail all the marks of truth, and that it emanated from such high authority. His credulity in this instance affords a curious proof of the very secluded manner in which these holy men pass their time, for it may be remembered, that it was in the very ports of California that both Vancouver and Quadra anchored, after having satisfactorily proved the voyage in question to have been a fabrication.

A still greater instance of the simplicity of the priest is related at his expense by persons in the mission. A youthful Indian couple who had conceived an affection for each other eloped one day, that they might enjoy each other's society without reserve in the wild and romantic scenery of the forests. Soldiers were immediately sent in pursuit, when, after a week's search, the fugitives were brought back; upon which padre Arroyo, to punish their misbehaviour, incarcerated them together, and kept them thus confined until he thought they had expiated their crime.

In addition to his other manifold accomplishments,

padre Arroyo was a grammarian, and said that he had written a vocabulary and grammar of the Indian languages, but he could not be prevailed upon to show them: such works, were they in existence, would, I believe, be the only ones of the kind; and it is a pity that they should not be given to the world as a matter of curiosity, though I cannot think they would be of much use to a traveller, as the languages of the tribes differ so materially, and in such short spaces, that in one mission there were eleven totally different dialects. I cannot omit to mention padre Arroyo's disquisition on the etymology of the name of the Peninsula of California. I shall observe first, that it was never known why Cortes gave to the bay* which he first discovered, a name which appears to be composed of the Latin words *calida* and *fornax*, signifying *heat* and *furnace*, and which was afterwards transferred to the peninsula. Miguel Venegas supposed it arose from some Indian words which Cortes misunderstood, and Burney, in his history of voyages in the Pacific,† observes, that some have conjectured the name to have been given on account of the heat of the weather, and says, it has been remarked that it was the only name given by Cortes which was immediately derived from the Latin language. Without entering into a discussion of the subject, which is not of any moment, I shall observe, that it was thought in Monterey to have arisen in consequence of a custom which prevails throughout California, of the Indians shutting themselves in ovens until they perspire profusely, as I have already described in speaking of the Temeschal. It is

* Bernal Diaz de Castillo, in his "Conquest of Mexico," calls California a *bay*.

† Vol. I. p. 178, 4to.

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not improbable that the practice appeared so singular to Cortes that he applied the name of California to the country, as being one in which hot ovens were used for such singular purposes. Padre Arroyo, however, maintained that it was a corruption of *colofon*, which, in the Spanish language, signifies resin, in consequence of the pine trees which yield that material being so numerous. The first settlers, he said, at the sight of these trees would naturally exclaim, "Colofon," which, by its similarity to Californo, (in the Catalanian dialect, hot oven,) a more familiar expression, would soon become changed.

Our travellers, after taking leave of the hospitable and amusing priest the preceding evening, with the intention of proceeding early in the morning, experienced much delay in consequence of the refusal of the guard to start without hearing mass and receiving the benediction of the priest; but at length they quitted the plain of San Juan, and ascended with difficulty some steep hills commanding a view of the spacious bay of Monterey. Then winding among valleys, one of which was well wooded and watered, they entered an extensive plain called "Llano del Rey," which, until their arrival, was in the quiet possession of numerous herds of deer and jackals. This tract of land is bounded on the north, east, and south-east, by mountains which extend with a semicircular sweep from the sea at Santa Cruz, and unite with the coast line again at Point Pinos. It is covered with a rank grass, and has very few shrubs. In traversing this plain, before they could arrive at some ranchos, named Las Salinas, where they proposed to dine, the party had to wade through several deep ditches and the Rio del Rey, both of which were covered with wild

ducks. The cottages called Las Salinas are on the farm of an old Scotchman, to whom the land was granted in consequence of some services which he rendered to the missions. They rested here, and to the provision they had brought with them very gladly added some pumpkins, procured from the Indians. Here, also, they were surprised with the novel occurrence of having water brought to them in baskets, which the Indians weave so close, that when wet they become excellent substitutes for bowls.

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The remainder of the plain over which they passed toward Monterey was sandy, and covered with fragrant southernwood, broken here and there by dwarf oaks, and shrubs of the syngenesious class of plants. As they approached the town, pasture lands, covered with herds of cattle succeeded this wild scenery: and riding onward, trees of luxuriant growth, houses scattered over the plain, the fort, and the shipping in the bay, announced the speedy termination of their journey. At five o'clock in the evening they alighted in the square at Monterey, and met a kind reception from Mr. Hartnell, a merchant belonging to the firm of Begg and Co. in Lima, who was residing there, and who pressed them to accept the use of his house while they remained in the town—an offer of which they thankfully availed themselves.

Gonzales, the governor to whom the party went to pay their respects, was an officer who had been raised by his own merit from the ranks to be captain of artillery and governor of Monterey: his family were residing with him, and having been educated in Mexico, complained bitterly of their banishment to this outlandish part of the world, where the population, the ladies in particular, were extremely ignorant,

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and wretched companions for the *Mexicanus instruidas*. Besides, there were no balls or bull-fights in Monterey; and for all the news they heard of their own country, they might as well have been at Kam-schatka. To compensate for these dreadful privations, the ladies generally amused themselves in the evening by smoking and playing cards, and relating the perils they encountered in the land journey from Mexico to the shores of the Pacific. Politeness and attention, however, were the characteristics of these good people, who offered our party every assistance in their power during their stay at Monterey.

Upon inquiry after the stores and medicines the ship stood in need of, the result was highly unfavourable; as there were no medicines to be had, and some stores which were essential to the ship could nowhere be procured. The exchange on bills was favourable, but there was no specie: Mr. Marsh therefore purchased what stores he could from the inhabitants and from the shipping in the roads, and arranged with a person who had come out from Ireland for the purpose of salting meat for the Lima market, to cure a quantity for the use of the ship, and to have it ready on her arrival at Monterey. They then hastened their departure, but the same difficulty arose about horses as before, and they were much inconvenienced in consequence, being obliged to alter a plan they had contemplated of returning by a different route. This, very unexpectedly to padre Arroyo, brought them again under his roof. The padre either did not like this second tax on his hospitality, or was put out of temper by the increase of a complaint to which he was subject, as he gave them a less cordial reception, and appeared very little disposed to conversation. It was

imagined, however, that he still entertained hopes of the conversion of one of the party, and that with this view he again occasioned a delay in furnishing horses for the next day's journey; offering as excuses, that some of the horses of the mission were engaged by soldiers in pursuit of a Mexican exile, who had deserted; that others had been taken by the vaqueros to look after a male and female Indian, who had likewise absconded, and that the rest were gone to join the expedition against Los Gentiles, the Cosemenes. Vexed at this delay, the party endeavoured to hire horses at their own expense, but the price demanded was so exorbitant that they determined to wait the return of those that were said to be absent.

It is more than probable that some one of my readers may have been in the same predicament—in a strange town, in a strange country, with a beast fatigued to death, and an urgent necessity for proceeding; he will then easily remember the amiable and benevolent alacrity with which the inhabitants endeavoured to lighten his load of every stray crown they could obtain from him, on every pretence that ingenious cupidity can invent. So at least did the good people at San Juan, when padre Arroyo would no longer assist our poor companions. Private horses could be had, it was true, but the terms were either thirteen shillings sterling for the journey, or seventeen shillings sterling for the purchase of the horse, which in California is considered so exorbitant that our shipmates did not think proper to suffer the imposition, and awaited the horses belonging to the mission.

After a day's delay, during which they again heard many invectives against the new government of

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Mexico, which had deprived the priesthood of their salaries, and obliged the missions to pay a tithe to the state, they resumed their journey, and arrived at San Francisco on the 17th of November.

In this route it will be seen that, with the exception of the missions and pueblos, the country is almost uninhabited; yet the productive nature of the soil, when it has been turned up by the missions, and the immense plains of meadow land over which our travellers passed, show with how little trouble it might be brought into high cultivation by any farmers who could be induced to settle there.

The unwelcome intelligence brought by this party of the nature of the supplies to be obtained at Monterey, obliged me to relinquish the plan I had contemplated of completing the survey of that part of the coast of California which had been left unfinished by Vancouver; and rendered it necessary that I should proceed direct either to Canton or to Lima, as the most likely places for us to meet with the medicines and stores of which we were in such imminent need. The western route of these two afforded the best opportunity of promoting the objects of the expedition, by bringing us into the vicinity of several groupes of islands of doubtful existence, at which, in the event of their being found, our time might be usefully employed until it should be necessary to proceed to Beering's Strait. An additional reason for this decision was, a request which I had made to the consul of the Sandwich Islands, if possible, to purchase provision for the ship at that place. I therefore determined, after taking on board the few stores that were purchased at Monterey, to proceed to the Sandwich Islands, searching in our way thither for

some islands said to have been discovered by an American vessel, and from thence to prosecute the voyage to Canton.

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While we remained in *Sán Francisco* refitting the ship, the boats were constantly employed sounding and surveying the harbour, in which duty we received every assistance from *Martinez*, the governor, who allowed us to enter the forts, and to take what angles and measures we pleased, requiring only in return for this indulgence a copy of the plan, when finished, for his own government: his proposal seemed so fair that I immediately acceded to it, and, on my return to the place the following year, fully complied with his request. It is impossible to pass unnoticed the difference between this liberal conduct of *Martinez* and that of the former Spanish authorities, who watched all *Vancouver's* actions with the greatest suspicion, and whose jealousy has been the subject of animadversion of almost every voyager who has touched at this port.

On the 12th of December a salute was fired from the battery; high mass was said in all the missions, and a grand entertainment, to which all the officers were invited, was given at the presidio, in honour of *Santa Señora Guadalupe*. There was also to have been a fight between a bear and a bull, but for some reason not known to us—probably the trouble it required to bring the animal so far, as the bears do not come within many miles of the presidio—it did not take place; and we were all greatly disappointed, as we had offered to reward the soldiers for their trouble, and had heard so much of these exhibitions from every body, that our curiosity had been highly excited. This is a favourite amusement with the Californians, but it is of rare occurrence, as there is much trouble

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in getting a bear alive to the scene of combat, and there is also some risk and expense attending it. We were informed that when a fight is determined upon three or four horsemen are dispatched with lassos to the woods where the bears resort, and that when they come to an advantageous spot they kill a horse or a bullock as a bait, and hide themselves in the wood. Sometimes they have to wait a whole day or more before any of these animals appear, but when they come to partake of the food, the men seize a favourable opportunity, and rush upon them at different points with their lassos, and entangle one of them until he is thrown upon the ground, when they manage to suspend him between the horsemen, while a third person dismounts and ties his feet together; he is then extended upon a hide and dragged home; during which time it is necessary, they say, to keep him constantly wet to allay his thirst and rage, which amounts almost to madness—and woe to him who should be near if he were to break away from his fastenings. The entangling of the animal in the first instance appears to be by no means devoid of risk, as in case of the failure of a lasso it is only by speed that a rider can save himself and his horse. The bear being caught, two or three men are dispatched for a wild bull, which they lasso in an equally dexterous manner, catching him either by the horns or by whichever leg they please, in order to trip him up and retain him between them.

It is necessary to begin the fight as soon as the animals are brought in, as the bear cannot be tempted to eat, and is continually exhausting himself in struggling for his liberty. The two animals are then tied together by a long rope, and the battle begins, some-

times to the disadvantage of the bear, who is half dead with exhaustion, but in the end almost always proves fatal to the bull. It is remarkable that all the bears endeavour to seize the bull by the tongue, for which purpose they spring upon his head or neck and first grapple with his nose, until the pain compels the bull to roar, when his adversary instantly seizes his tongue, pierces it with his sharp talons, and is sure of victory. These battles were the everlasting topic of conversation with the Californians, who indeed have very little else to talk about, and they all agreed as to the manner of the fatal termination of the spectacle.

Subjoined is a spirited sketch of a Californian lassoing a bull, taken from life by Mr. Smyth, in which the method, as well as the costume of the natives is admirably delineated. The lasso, though now almost entirely confined to Spanish America, is of very great antiquity, and originally came from the east. It was used by a pastoral people who were of Persian descent, and of whom 8,000 accompanied the army of Xerxes.*

By Christmas-day we had all remained sufficiently long in the harbour to contemplate our departure without regret: the eye had become familiar to the picturesque scenery of the bay, the pleasure of the chase had lost its fascination, and the roads to the mission and presidio were grown tedious and insipid. There was no society to enliven the hours, no incidents to vary one day from the other, and to use the expression of Donna Gonzales, California appeared to be as much out of the world as Kamschatka.

On the 26th, being ready for sea, I was obliged to relinquish the survey of this magnificent port, which

* Rennell on the 20 Satrapies of Darius Hystaspes, p. 287.

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possesses almost all the requisites for a great naval establishment, and is so advantageously situated with regard to North America and China, and the Pacific in general, that it will, no doubt, at some future time, be of great importance. We completed the examination of those parts of the harbour which were likely to be frequented by vessels for some years to come, in which it is proper to mention, in order to give as much publicity to the circumstance as possible, that we discovered a rock between Alcatrazes and Yerba Buena Islands, dangerous to both shipping and boats, in consequence of its rising suddenly from about seven fathoms, so near to the surface as to occasion strong overfalls with the tides. A shoal was also found to the eastward of the landing-place off the presidio, which ought to be avoided by boats sailing along shore. In my nautical remarks, I have given directions for avoiding both these dangers, which are the only hidden ones in that part of the harbour, which is at present frequented.

On the 28th we took leave of our hospitable and affable friends, Martinez and Padre Tomaso, full of gratitude for their kindness and attention to our wants; weighed anchor, and bade adieu to the Port of San Francisco, in which we had all received material benefit from the salubrity of its climate, the refreshing product of its soil, and the healthy exercise we had enjoyed there. In the ship's company, in particular, there was the most apparent amendment; some of them, from being so emaciated on their arrival that the surgeon could scarcely recognize them, were now restored to their former healthy appearance, and we had the satisfaction of sailing without a single case of sickness on board. We had to regret during our stay

the loss of one of our best men, Joseph Bowers, a marine. He had accompanied one of the officers on a shooting excursion, and was led by his naturally ardent and bold disposition to plunge into a lake after some wild fowl that had been shot, forgetting that he could not swim. His eagerness led him beyond his depth, and in his attempt to regain his footing, he unfortunately perished before any aid could be brought. His body was interred at the burial ground near the presidio landing place, and was followed to the grave by all the officers. As the coffin was lowering into the ground, the good understanding that existed between the ship's company and the inhabitants was testified in the most gratifying manner, by the latter approaching and performing the last office for the deceased, by dropping the earth in upon his coffin. I cannot recollect ever having met with such conduct in any other foreign port, and the act, most certainly, did not lessen our regard for the inhabitants.

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CHAPTER II.

Observations on the Country of California and its Trade—Climate—Meteorological Remarks—Short Account of the Wild Indians—Natural Productions—Monterey—Mission of San Carlos—Departure.

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THE more we became acquainted with the beautiful country around *Sán Francisco*, the more we were convinced that it possessed every requisite to render it a valuable appendage to Mexico; and it was impossible to resist joining in the remark of *Vancouver*, "Why such an extent of territory should have been subjugated, and, after all the expense and labour bestowed upon its colonization, turned to no account whatever, is a mystery in the science of state policy not easily explained." Situated in the northern hemisphere, between the parallels of 22° and 39° , no fault can be found with its climate; its soil in general is fertile, it possesses forests of oak and pine convenient for building and contributing to the necessities of vessels, plains overrun with cattle, excellent ports, and navigable rivers to facilitate inland communication. Possessing all these advantages, an industrious population alone seems requisite to withdraw it from the obscurity in which it has so long slept under the indolence of the people and the jealous policy of the Spanish

government. Indeed it struck us as lamentable to see such an extent of habitable country lying almost desolate and useless to mankind, whilst other nations are groaning under the burthen of their population.

It is evident, from the natural course of events, and from the rapidity with which observation has recently been extended to the hitherto most obscure parts of the globe, that this indifference cannot continue; for either it must disappear under the present authorities, or the country will fall into other hands, as from its situation with regard to other powers upon the new continent, and to the commerce of the Pacific, it is of too much importance to be permitted to remain long in its present neglected state. Already have the Russians encroached upon the territory by possessing themselves of the Farallones, and some islands off Santa Barbara; and their new settlement at Rossi, a few miles to the northward of Bodega, is so near upon the boundary as to be the cause of much jealous feeling;—not without reason it would appear, as I am informed it is well fortified, and presents to California an example of what may be effected upon her shores in a short time by industry.

The tract situated between California and the eastern side of the continent of North America, having been only partially explored, has hitherto presented a formidable barrier to encroachment from that quarter; but settlements are already advancing far into the heart of the country, and parties of hunters have lately traversed the interior, and even penetrated to the shores of the Pacific;—not without the loss of lives from the attacks of the Indians, it is true, but with ease, compared with the labour and difficulty experienced by Lewis and Clarke, who had not the benefit

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which more recent travellers have derived from the establishment of inland depôts by the American fur companies. One of these depôts, we were informed by a gentleman belonging to the establishment, whom we met at Monterey in 1827, is situated on the western side of the rocky mountains on a fork of the Columbia called Lewis River, near the source of a stream supposed to be the Colorado.

The trade of Upper California at present consists in the exportation of hides, tallow, manteca, horses to the Sandwich Islands, grain for the Russian establishments at Sitka and Kodiak, and in the disposal of provisions to whale-ships and other vessels which touch upon the coast,—perhaps a few furs and dollars are sent to China. The importations are dry goods, furniture, wearing-apparel, agricultural implements, deal-boards, and salt; and silks and fireworks from China for the decoration of the churches and celebration of the saints' days. In 1827 almost all these articles bore high prices: the former in consequence of the increased demand for them; and the latter, partly from the necessity of meeting the expenses of the purchase of a return cargo, and partly on account of the navigation act.

The missions and the inhabitants in general complained loudly of these prices, not considering that the fault was in a great measure their own, and that they were purchasing some articles which had been brought several thousand miles, when they might have procured them in their own country with moderate labour only. For example, they were actually living upon the sea-coast and amongst forests of pine, and yet were suffering themselves to buy salt and deal boards at exorbitant prices.

With a similar disregard for their interests, they were purchasing sea-otter skins at twenty dollars apiece, whilst the animals were swimming about unmolested in their own harbours; and this from the Russians, who are intruders upon their coast, and are depriving them of a lucrative trade: and again, they were paying two hundred dollars for carts of inferior workmanship, which, with the exception of the wheels, might have been equally well manufactured in their own country.

With this want of commercial enterprise, they are not much entitled to commiseration. With more justice might they have complained of the navigation laws, which, though no doubt beneficial to the inhabitants on the eastern coast of Mexico, where there are vessels belonging to the state in readiness to conduct the coasting trade, are extremely disadvantageous to the Californians, who having no vessels to employ in this service are often obliged to pay the duty on goods introduced in foreign bottoms. This duty for the encouragement of the coasting trade was made seventeen per cent. higher than that on cargoes brought in vessels of the state. Thus not only must the inhabitants purchase their goods on very disadvantageous terms, but, as a foreign vessel cannot break stowage without landing the whole of her cargo, they must in addition incur the expenses attending that, which will in general fall upon a few goods only, as the towns in California are not sufficiently populous, any one of them, to consume a whole cargo; and it is to be remembered, that no foreign vessel, after breaking stowage, can proceed to another port in the same dominion without being liable to seizure by the customs.

The imprudent nature of these laws, as regards Ca-

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lifornia, appears to have been considered by the authorities in that country, as they overlook the introduction of goods into the towns by indirect channels, except in cases of a gross and palpable nature. In this manner several American vessels have contrived to dispose of their cargoes, and the inhabitants have been supplied with goods of which they were much in need; but had the navigation laws been strictly attended to, the vessels must have returned unsuccessful, and the inhabitants have continued in want.

Far more liberal has been the hand of nature to this much neglected country, in bestowing upon it a climate remarkable for its salubrity. The Spanish settlers in California enjoy an almost uninterrupted state of good health. Many attain the age of eighty and ninety, and some have exceeded a hundred years. There have been periods, however, when the small pox and measles have affected the population, and particularly the Indians in the missions, who, unlike the Spaniards, appear to suffer severely from diseases of all kinds. The small pox many years ago prevailed to an alarming extent, and carried off several thousand Indians; but since the introduction of cattle into the country, and with them the cow pox, it has not reappeared. Vaccination was practised in California as early as 1806, and the virus from Europe has been recently introduced through the Russian establishment at Rossi. The measles have also at times seriously affected the Indians, and in 1806 proved fatal to thousands, while it is remarkable that none of the Spaniards affected with the disease died. Dysentery, the most prevalent complaint amongst the converted Indians, no doubt arises in a great measure from the coldness and dampness of their habitations,

and becomes fatal through the want of proper medical assistance. They are happily free from the hooping cough.

This state of ill health does not extend to the uncivilized Indians ; and, notwithstanding the mortality in the missions, the climate of California must be considered salubrious. Perouse, Vancouver, and Langsdorff were of the same opinion ; and to judge of it by the general health of the Spanish residents, and by the benefit that our seamen derived from it during their short stay, it would certainly appear not to be surpassed. The summer and early part of the autumn are the least healthy parts of the year, in consequence of continued fogs, which occur at these periods.

It is, in all probability, in consequence of these fogs during the warmest part of the year that the coast of California has the reputation of being much colder than that of Chili in corresponding parallels of latitude. In the month of December the mean temperature of *Sán Francisco* was $53^{\circ} 2'$, the maximum 66° , and the minimum 46° . We nevertheless saw hoar frost upon the grass in the mornings, and in the following year observed snow lie several hours upon the ground. As the minimum of temperature was so many degrees above the freezing point, the former was in all probability occasioned by the radiation, which is very great in that country.

The winter of 1826 was said to be a very favourable season ; we could not judge from our own experience, therefore, of what weather was usual on the coast at that period of the year. But there were very few days during our visit in which a vessel might not have approached the coast with safety. The strongest and most prevalent winds were from the north-west ;

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but these winds, though they blew directly upon the coast, were generally attended by clear weather, which would have enabled a vessel to find a port, had it been necessary. They were strongest about the full and change of the moon.

From the prevalence of the westerly swell off the harbour, and from the wind moderating as we approached the coast in both years, I am inclined to think that these winds do not usually blow home upon the shore.

There was a curious anomaly observed in the movements of the barometer and sympeisometer during our stay at *Sán Francisco*: the former rose with the winds which brought bad weather, and fell with those which restored serenity to the sky. The maximum height was 30·46, the minimum 29·98, and the mean 30·209.

The hygrometer on the whole indicated a dry atmosphere, and ranged from 0° to 20° of dryness on the thermometric scale, the mean degree of dryness being 6°, 6'. The particulars of these observations are inserted in tables in the Appendix to the 4th edition.

The clear weather occasioned by the north-west wind was favourable for astronomical observations; but many were lost in consequence of a haze overhanging the land at night, and from the inconvenience arising from a heavy deposition, which, besides occasioning much mirage, fell so profusely upon the glasses of the instruments that they were obliged to be repeatedly wiped, and sometimes at the most inconvenient moments.* Our observations, however, were very satisfactory, and are important, as the

* I found this in a great degree obviated by fixing a long paper tube to the field end of the telescope.

longitudes of the places between Nootka Sound and San Diego are dependent upon the situation of San Francisco and Monterey; Vancouver having, in his survey of the coast, rated his chronometers between the meridians of these places. My observatory was erected upon a small eminence near the anchorage at Yerba-Buena, from whence the observations were carefully reduced to the fort at the entrance of the harbour. The results have been published in the 4to edition, where will also be found some observations on the dip and variation of the needle, the tides, and other subjects.

I shall conclude this imperfect sketch of Upper California with a short description of the Indian mode of living, and of the natural productions of the country, derived principally from the information of the priests, and from the journals of the officers who went overland to Monterey. The Indians who enter the missions with which we became acquainted are divided in their wild state into distinct tribes, and are governed by a chief whose office is hereditary, but only in the male line. The widows and daughters, however, though not allowed to partake of this privilege, are exempted from labour, and are more respected than other women. Each tribe has a different dialect; and though their districts are small, the languages are sometimes so different, that the neighbouring tribes cannot understand each other. I have before observed, that in the mission of San Carlos there are eleven different dialects. Their villages consist of wigwams made with poles covered with bulrushes, and are generally placed in an open plain to avoid surprise. Like the Arabs and other wandering tribes, these people move about the country, and pitch

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their tents wherever they find a convenient place, keeping, however, within their own district.

They cultivate no land, and subsist entirely by the chase, and upon the spontaneous produce of the earth. Acorns, of which there is a great abundance in the country, constitute their principal vegetable food. In the proper season they procure a supply of these, bake them, and then bruise them between two stones into a paste, which will keep until the following season. The paste before it is dried is subjected to several washings in a sieve, which they say deprives it of the bitter taste common to the acorn. We cannot but remark the great resemblance this custom bears to the method adopted by the South-sea Islanders to keep their bread fruit, nor ought we to fail to notice the manner in which Providence points out to different tribes the same wise means of preserving their food, and providing against a season of scarcity.

The country inhabited by the Indians abounds in game, and the rivers in fish; and those tribes which inhabit the sea-coast make use of muscles and other shell fish, of which the *haliotis gigantea* is the most abundant. In the chase they are very expert, and avail themselves of a variety of devices to ensnare and to decoy their game. The artifice of deceiving the deer by placing a head of the animal upon their shoulders is very successfully practised by them. To do this, they fit the head and horns of a deer upon the head of a huntsman, the rest of his body being painted to resemble the colour of a deer. Thus disguised, the Indian sallies forth, equipped with his bow and arrows, approaches the pasture of the deer, whose actions and voice he then endeavours to imitate, taking care to conceal his body as much as possible, for

which purpose he generally selects places which are overgrown with long grass. This stratagem seldom fails to entice several of the herd within reach of his arrows, which are frequently sent with unerring aim to the heart of the animal, and he falls without alarming the herd ; but if the aim should fail, or the arrow only wound its intended victim, the whole herd is immediately put to flight.

Their method of taking ducks and geese and other wildfowl is equally ingenious. They construct large nets with bulrushes, and repair to such rivers as are the resort of their game, where they fix a long pole upright on each bank, with one end of the net attached to the pole on the opposite side of the river to themselves. Several artificial ducks made of rushes are then set afloat upon the water between the poles as a decoy ; and the Indians, who have a line fastened to one end of the net, and passed through a hole in the upper end of the pole that is near them, wait the arrival of their game in concealment. When the birds approach, they suddenly extend the net across the river by pulling upon the line, and intercept them in their flight, when they fall stunned into a large purse in the net, and are captured. They also spread nets across their rivers in the evening, in order that the birds may become entangled in them as they fly.

The occupation of the men consists principally in providing for their support, and in constructing the necessary implements for the chase and for their own defence. The women attend to their domestic concerns, and work a variety of baskets and ornamental parts of their dress, some of which are very ingenious, and all extremely laborious. Their closely wove

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baskets are not only capable of containing water, but are used for cooking their meals. A number of small scarlet feathers of the oriolus phœniceus are wove in with the wood, and completely screen it from view on the outside; and to the rim are affixed small black crests of the Californian partridges, of which birds a hundred brace are required to decorate one basket:—they are otherwise ornamented with beads, and pieces of mother-of-pearl. They also embroider belts very beautifully with feathers of different colours, and they work with remarkable neatness, making use of the young quills of the porcupine, in a similar manner to the Canadian Indians; but here they manufacture a fine cloth for the ground, whereas the Canadians have only the bark of the birch-tree. They also manufacture caps and dresses for their chiefs, which are extremely beautiful; and they have a great many other feather ornaments, which it would be stepping beyond the limits of my work to describe.

The stature of the Indians which we saw in the missions was by no means diminutive. The Alchones are of good height, and the Tularaios were thought to be, generally, above the standard of Englishmen. Their complexion is much darker than that of the South-sea Islanders, and their features far inferior in beauty. In their persons they are extremely dirty, particularly their heads, which are so thatched with wiry black hair that it is only by separating the locks with the hand that it can be got at for the purposes of cleanliness. Many are seen performing such acts of kindness upon their intimate friends; and, as the readiest means of disposing of what they find, consuming it, in the manner practised by the Tartars, who, according to Hakluyt—"cleanse one anothers'

beades, and ever as thei take an animal do cate her, saeing, thus wille I doe to our enemies."*

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Their bodies are in general very scantily clothed, and in summer many go entirely naked. The women, however, wear a deer skin or some other covering about their loins: but skin dresses are not common among any of the tribes concerning whom we could procure any information. The women are fond of ornaments, and suspend beads and buttons about their persons, while to their ears they attach long wooden cylinders, variously carved, which serve the double purpose of ear-rings and needle-cases.

Tattooing is practised in these tribes by both sexes, both to ornament the person, and to distinguish one clan from the other. It is remarkable that the women mark their chins precisely in the same way as the Esquimaux.

The tribes are frequently at war with each other, often in consequence of trespasses upon their territory and property; and weak tribes are sometimes wholly annihilated, or obliged to associate themselves with those of their conquerors; but such is their warmth of passion and desire of revenge that very little humanity is in general shown to those who fall into their power. Their weapons consist only of bows and arrows: neither the tomahawk nor the spear is ever seen in their hands. Their bows are elegantly and ingeniously constructed, and if kept dry will discharge an arrow to a considerable distance. They resemble those of the Esquimaux, being strengthened by sinews: the back of the bow, but here, one sinew, the size of the wood, occupies the whole extent of the back,

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and embraces the ends, where they are turned back to receive the string; the sinew is fixed to the bow while wet, and as it becomes dry draws it back the reverse way to that in which it is intended to be used. The Indian manner of stringing these bows is precisely similar to that practised by the lovers of archery in England; but it requires greater skill and strength, in consequence of the increased curvature of the bow, and the resistance of the sinew.

The religion of all the tribes is idolatrous. The Olchonc, who inhabit the seacoast between San Francisco and Monterey, worship the sun, and believe in the existence of a beneficent and an evil spirit, whom they occasionally attempt to propitiate. Their ideas of a future state are very confined: when a person dies they adorn the corpse with feathers, flowers, and beads, and place with it a bow and arrows; they then extend it upon a pile of wood, and burn it amidst the shouts of the spectators, who wish the soul a pleasant journey to its new abode, which they suppose to be a country in the direction of the setting sun. Like most other nations, these people have a tradition of the deluge: they believe also that their tribes originally came from the north.

The Indians in their wild state are said to be more healthy than those which have entered the missions. They have simple remedies, derived from certain medicinal herbs, with the property of which they have previously made themselves acquainted. Some of these roots are useful as emetics, and are administered in cases of sickness of the stomach: they also apply cataplasms to diseased parts of the body, and practice phlebotomy very generally, using the right arm for this purpose when the body is affected, and the le

where the limbs. But the temiscal is the grand remedy for most of their diseases.

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The very great care taken of all who are affected with any disease ought not to be allowed to escape a remark. When any of their relations are indisposed, the greatest attention is paid to their wants, and it was remarked by Padre Arroyo that filial affection is stronger in these tribes than in any civilized nation on the globe with which he was acquainted.

Our knowledge of the natural history of this country cannot be expected to be very extensive. In the woods not immediately bordering upon the missions, the black bear has his habitation, and when food is scarce it is dangerous to pass through them alone in the dusk of the evening; but when the acorns abound there is nothing to apprehend. It is said that the white bear also visits this district occasionally, from the northward. The lion (*felis concolor* ?) and the tiger (*felis onca* ?) are natives of these woods, but we never saw them; the inhabitants say they are small, and that the lion is less than the tiger, but more powerful. A large species of mountain cat (*gato del monte*) is common: a pole cat (*viverra putorius*) also is found in the woods: wolves and foxes are numerous, and the *cuiotas*, or jackalls, range about the plains at night, and prove very destructive to the sheep. The fallow-deer browses on the pasture land, not only in the interior, but also upon some of the islands and around the shores of the harbour: it is sought after for its skin, of which the Spaniards make boots, shoes, &c. The rein-deer also is found inland, particularly upon a large plain named Tukurayos, on account of the number of bulrushes growing there. In the months of May and June the Spaniards resort to this

plain with their lassos, and take as many of these animals as they can ensnare, for the sake of their fat, of which they will sometimes procure between four and five arobas from one animal.

The fields are burrowed by a small rat, resembling the *mus arvalis*, by a mountain rat of the *cricetus* species, and also by the ardillo, a species of *sciurus*, rather a pretty little animal, said to be good to eat: another of this species was seen among the branches of the trees. A small variety of *lepus cuniculus* is very common in the sand-hills near the presidio; hares are less common, and indeed it is doubtful whether any were seen by us. Raccoons are found in the mountains at a distance from the coast. The sea otter (*mustela lutris*) is not an unfrequent visiter in the harbour of San Francisco, but very few of them are taken, notwithstanding their fur is valuable. Judging from the accounts that have been published, these animals are becoming less numerous upon the coast: in 1786 it was stated that 50,000 of them might be collected annually, whereas at present the number is reduced to about 2,000. Porpoises and whales are numerous outside the harbour, and the common seal may occasionally be seen basking on the rocks of Yerabuena, and other places.

The feathered tribe in San Francisco are very numerous, and have as yet been so little molested that there must be a rich harvest in store for the first naturalist who shall turn his attention to this place. We succeeded in killing a great many birds of different species, several of which were found to be quite new and will be described in the natural history, which will shortly appear as a supplement to this voyage: but there are not many which delight, either by the bril

liancy or beauty of their plumage, or by the melody of their note. The birds of prey are the black vulture (*vultus aura*), sometimes large; several species of *falco*, one of which attacks the geese, and is in consequence called *mato gansas*, also a kite, and a sparrow hawk. The horned owl (a variety of the *strix virginiana*?) flies about after dark to the terror of the superstitious Indians, who imagine its screech forbodes evil. Several species of *oriolus* are met with in the plains, and one, the *oriolus phæniceus*, is seen in immense flocks. The natives say that this bird, which in its first year is of a greyish black colour, changes to deep black in the second, and ultimately becomes black with red shoulders; but Mr. Collie thinks there is some error in this. There is another *oriolus* which frequents moist and rushy places; crows in great numbers, some which are white, and smaller than those of England; and several species of finches, buntings, and sparrows, prove very destructive to the grain when sown. The magpie is also an inhabitant here, and a small blue jay frequents the woods. The California quail (*tetrao virginianus*), wood pigeons with bronzed imbricated feathers on the back of the neck, plovers (*charadrius hiaticula*?), snipes, several species of sanderlings (*tringa*), razorbills (*hematopus*), herons (*ardea*), curlew (*scolopax linosa* and *recurvirostra*), and two species of *rallus*, afforded amusement to our sportsmen, as did also some of the many species of geese, ducks, widgeon, and teal, which frequent the lakes and plains. The two latter species and one of the *anas* (*erythropus*?) were similar to those which had been seen in Kotzebue Sound; and the natives remark that they arrive from the north in the month of September, and depart again in May. The grey

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geese are said to be good to eat, but we found them all fishy; not so the ducks, the greater part of which are very palatable: these birds, of which we procured about twenty species, and the mallard, are so common that several were frequently killed at one shot. It was observed that some kinds of ducks always preferred salt water to the lakes, particularly a species with a dark-coloured body and a white head, which we did not obtain. Among those which frequent the fresh water there were generally an abundance of water-hens. Pelicans (*pelicanus onocratulds*) may be seen morning and evening winging their long line of flight across the harbour, and settling upon the little island of Alcatrazes, which they have completely covered with their exuviae, and rendered extremely offensive to persons passing near the place. Shags (*pelicanus graculus*) also abound in the harbour. I ought to have noticed in its proper place the humming bird, which, notwithstanding the high latitude of the country, is an inhabitant of the woods, and if we may rely upon Padre Tomaso, may be seen there all the year round. We noticed several of them fluttering about some gooseberry bushes near our anchorage, and shot one in full flesh: as this was in the middle of winter, the information of the padre was probably correct.

To this list of birds several were added the succeeding year at Mounterey, which, being found so near the place we are describing, may justly be classed with them: these consisted of the golden-winged woodpecker, a goat-sucker, several species of small birds unknown to us, and a golden-crested wren. At this place there were also several species of *pisus*.

I shall pass rapidly over the reptiles, which are not numerous at San Francisco, and none were procured

during our stay. The Spaniards assert that there is an adder in the wood which is venomous, and that there are rattlesnakes upon the island of Molate in the harbour; but we saw neither the one or the other, notwithstanding Mr. Elson and a boat's crew landed upon Molate, which is very small indeed.

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Fish are not much sought after in California, in consequence of the productions of the land being so very abundant; several sorts, however, are brought to the tables of the missions. In the Bay of Monterey we noticed the scomber colias, and another kind of mackerel, the torpedo and another species of raia, achimara, and swarms of small fish resembling the sardinia. Muscles are found in considerable quantities upon the shores, and form a large portion of the food of the Indians bordering upon the coasts and rivers. At Monterey two species of *haliotis* of large size are also extremely abundant, and equally sought after by the Indians. They are found on the granite rocks forming the south-east part of the bay, which appears to be their northern limit. The natives make use of these shells for ornaments, and decorate their baskets with pieces of them. Besides these shell-fish, there were noticed a few *patella*, *limpet*, *turbo*, *cardium*, and *mya* shells, and among other *lepas*, a rare species of *l. anotifera* and a chiton (*tunicatus* ?)

The forests of this part of California furnish principally large trees of the *pinus* genus, of which the *p. rigida* and the red cedar are most abundant, and are of sufficient growth for the masts of vessels. Two kinds of oak arrive at large growth, but near the coast they do not appear to be very numerous. There is here a low tree with a smooth reddish-brown bark, bearing red berries, which from the hardness of its

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wood, would serve the purpose of *lignum vitæ*: there are also some birch and plane trees; but there are very few trees bearing fruit which are indigenous; the cherry tree and gooseberry bush, however, appear to be so.

The shrubs covering the sand hills and moors are principally syngenesious, or of the order *rhâmnus*, while those which prefer the more fertile and humid soils are a gaudy-flowered currant bush, and a species of honeysuckle; but the most remarkable shrub in this country is the *yedra*, a poisonous plant affecting only particular constitutions of the human body, by producing tumours and violent inflammation upon any part with which it comes in contact; and indeed even the exhalation from it borne upon the wind, is said to have an effect upon some people. It is a slender shrub, preferring cool and shady places to others, and bears a trefoil crenated leaf. Among other useful roots in this country there are two which are used by the natives for soap, *amole* and *jamate*.

From San Francisco we proceeded to Monterey to take in the stores that had been purchased at that place, and to procure some spars which grow more conveniently for embarkation there than at San Francisco. Though the distance between these two places is very little more than a hundred miles, our passage was prolonged to two days by light winds. On the last day of the year we passed Ponto año nuevo, which with Ponto Pinos forms the bay of Monterey. This is a spacious sandy bay about twenty miles across, and according to Pêrouse with anchorage near the shore in almost every part; but it is not advisable to enter it in any other place than that which is frequented as an anchorage, in consequence of a heavy swell which

almost always rolls into it from the westward. The mission of Santa Cruz is situated at the north extremity of the bay near Punto año nuevo, and vessels occasionally anchor off there for fresh water and supplies of vegetables, neither of which are to be had in any quantity at Monterey. Care should be taken in landing at Santa Cruz, as the surf is very heavy, and the river of St. Lorenzo has a bar off it, which it is necessary to pass.

We dropped our anchor in Monterey Bay on the first of January, and with the permission of the governor, D. Miguel Gonzales, immediately commenced cutting the spars we required; for each of which we paid a small sum. Through the assistance of Mr. Hartnell, we procured several things from the missions which we should otherwise have sailed without, and our thanks are further due to him for his kindness and attention during our stay.

The anchorage of Monterey is about two miles south-east of point Pinos, in the south angle of the great bay just described. It is necessary to lie close to the shore, both on account of the depth of water, and in order to receive the protection of point Pinos, without which ships could not remain in the bay. It presents to the eye a very exposed anchorage, but no accidents have ever occurred to any vessel properly found in cables and anchors; in which respect it very much resembles the bay of Valparaiso, nearly in the same parallel in the southern hemisphere.

The village and presidio of Monterey are situated upon a plain between the anchorage and a range of hills covered with woods of pine and oak. The presidio is in better condition than that at San Fran-

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cisco; still as a place of defence it is quite useless. The fort is not much better, and its strength may be judged of from its having been taken by a small party of seamen who landed from a Buenos Ayrean pirate in 1819, destroyed the greater part of the guns, and pillaged and burnt the town.

At the distance of a league to the southward of the presidio lies the mission of San Carlos, a small establishment containing 260 Indians. It is situated in a valley near the river St. Carmelo; a small stream emptying itself into a deep rocky bay. The shores of this bay, and indeed of the whole of the coast near Point Pinos, is armed with rocks of granite upon which the sea breaks furiously; and as there is no anchorage near them on account of the great depth of water, it is dangerous to approach the coast in light or variable winds. Fortunately some immense beds of sea weed (*fucus pyriformis*) lie off the coast, and are so impenetrable that they are said to have saved several vessels which were driven into them by the swell during calm and foggy weather. The ride from the presidio to San Carlos on a fine day is most agreeable. The scenery is just sufficiently picturesque to interest, while the hills are not so abrupt as to inconvenience a bold rider. The road leads principally through fine pasture lands, occasionally wooded with tall pine, oak, and birch trees; but without any underwood to give it a wildness, or to rob it of its park-like aspect. Before the valley of San Carmelo opens out, the traveller is apprized of his approach to the mission by three large crosses erected upon Mount Calvary; and further on by smaller ones placed at the side of the road, to each of which some history is attached. In the church is a drawing of the reception

of La Perouse at the mission, executed on board the Astrolabe, by one of the officers of his squadron. I much wished to possess this valuable relic, with which however the padre was unwilling to part.

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We found lying in the port of Monterey an American brig endeavouring to dispose of a cargo of dry goods, and to procure hides and tallow in return; and we opportunely received from her a supply of spirits, as the last cask was abroach. On the 4th a Russian brig, named the Baikal, belonging to the Russian American Fur Company, anchored in the bay. This vessel was employed upon the coast, trading between Sitka, Bodega, and several ports in California, either in carrying or arranging the supplies for the Russian settlements to the northward. She was commanded by an officer in the Russian navy, and had on board Mr. Klebnekoff, the agent. There are several of these vessels upon the coast carrying guns, and wearing pendants. On the 5th we took leave of our hospitable acquaintances, and put to sea on our passage to the Sandwich Islands.

CHAPTER III.

Passage to the Sandwich Islands—Woahoo—Historical Sketch of the Islands—Progress in Civilization—Sandal Wood—Resources of the Government—Slow Progress of Education—Efforts of the Missionaries—Unsuccessful Result of their Zeal—Sentiments of the King and Chiefs—Entertainment given by the King—Death of Krymakoo—Wailing Scene—Departure of Kahumana for Owyhee.

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UPON leaving Monterey we steered to the southward with a fair wind, which carried us into the trades, and attended us the whole way to the Sandwich Islands. In our course we searched unsuccessfully for all the islands that were marked near our route, rounding to every night when near the position of any one, that it might not be passed unobserved, and making sail on a parallel of latitude during the day. In this manner we searched for Henderson's and Cooper's Islands, besides several others said to lie near them, and also for a group in the latitude of 16° N., and longitude between 130° and 133° W.; but we saw nothing of them, nor had we any of the usual indications of the vicinity of land; so that if any of these islands exist, they must be in some other parallel than that assigned to them in the American Geographical Table, published in 1825.*

* I have been recently informed that an island of moderate height has been seen by the Sultan American Whaler, in latitude

On the 25th, after a pleasant passage of twenty days, we saw the Island of Owyhee; and the following day anchored in the harbour of Honoruru, the capital of the Sandwich Islands. We had the satisfaction to meet all our former acquaintances well, and to receive their congratulations on our return; we had also the pleasure to find Mr. Lay the naturalist ready to resume his occupations. During our absence, he had unfortunately been prevented pursuing his researches among the islands by a severe illness.

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After the usual etiquette of salutes, I visited the king and Kahumana, who appeared very glad of our arrival, and being informed that the ship was to remain a few weeks in the harbour, they very kindly appropriated three houses to the use of the officers and myself, and seemed determined to show by other acts of attention that the regard they had always expressed for our nation was not merely an empty profession.

In my first visit to this place, I gave a sketch of the appearance of the town of Woahoo and of the inhabitants, with the advances which the country appeared to be making in civilization. It may not be superfluous here to insert a very concise account of the islands during the last few years, to enable my readers to judge more correctly of their progress, and to furnish information to such as may not have the history of them fresh in their memories.

At the time the Sandwich Islands were discovered by Captain Cook, Owyhee was under the sovereignty of Terreebooo, or Teriopu, who died shortly after the departure of the discovery ships. Tamehameha, who

15° 30' N., longitude between 180° and 184° W. And that another was landed upon in latitude 16° 25' N., longitude 174° W.

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afterwards became so celebrated, was the nephew of Terreeboo. He is not mentioned in the official account of Cook's voyage, but in a narrative of the facts relating to the death of the great navigator, published by Mr. Samwell, the surgeon of the *Discovery*. Meah Meah, as he is called by that gentleman, is represented to have slept on board that ship, and to have had with him a magnificent feather cloak, with which he would not part, except for iron daggers, six of which he procured, and returned to the shore well pleased with his bargain. No doubt his intention was to wrest the sovereignty from the hands of the successor of Terreeboo, an enterprize which he performed shortly afterwards by assembling his forces and defeating him in a pitched battle, in which he is said to have slain him with his own hands. After this victory, no other chief possessing sufficient power to oppose Tamehameha, we find that on the arrival of Vancouver in 1792 he had acquired supreme authority both in Owyhee and Mowee. He soon afterwards attacked and conquered Woahoo, and, assisted by his vallant protégé Krymakoo, in 1817, became sovereign of all the Sandwich group.

Vancouver was very instrumental in establishing the power of this chief on a firm basis, by noticing Tamehameha in a manner which could not escape the observation of the other chiefs, and by building him a decked vessel, which gave him a decided superiority of force, and enabled him to keep them in subjection. In return for these important benefits, the grateful chief, in presence of Vancouver and the Eries of the group, made a formal cession of the islands to the king of Great Britain, and the natives have ever since considered themselves under the immediate protection of this country.

In the early stage of our intercourse with these islands, several acts, such as the death of Cook, the murder of Lieutenant Hergert, and the treacherous seizure of an American vessel, rendered merchant vessels cautious of communicating with savages of apparently so ferocious a character; but when it was known that the perpetrators of these murders were punished by Tamehameha, and when his real character was made public by the voyages of Vancouver and other navigators, every vessel employed in the Pacific was desirous of visiting his dominions. In course of time a regular market was established for the sale of the productions of the islands; the natives were instructed to accept Spanish dollars and European clothing in exchange for their goods; and several foreigners, by the king's persuasion, were induced to settle upon the islands. The native chiefs, in imitation of their sovereign, began to dress in the European style. A fort was built for the protection of the principal town, and a number of the natives were instructed in the use of fire-arms. The harbour of Honoumuli soon became crowded with ships of all nations, and latterly the place has assumed the appearance of an European colony.

The discovery of sandal wood in the mountains opened a profitable channel of commerce; and several adventurers, chiefly from the United States, remained to collect it from the natives. They found a ready market for it in China; the goods of that country were brought in return to the Sandwich islands, and thus was laid the foundation of a trade, which still continues. Tamehameha having purchased several vessels with this precious wood, attempted to conduct this trade with his own resources, and sent a schooner

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bearing his flag to Canton ; but, owing to the forms and impositions practised in China, and other circumstances which he could not control, the speculation failed, and this advantageous trade has since been carried on by the Americans.

In all these plans for the benefit of his country, for the introduction of civilization among his subjects, and for the establishment of his assumed authority, Tamehameha was greatly indebted to the advice and assistance of two respectable English seamen, Young and Davis, whom he persuaded to remain in the islands. Their services were not unrequited by the great chief, whose generous disposition and intimate knowledge of human nature induced him to bestow upon them both rank and fortune, by raising them to the station of chiefs, and giving them estates. They in turn proved grateful to their benefactor, and conducted themselves so properly that every visitor to the islands has spoken of them in the highest terms. Davis died in 1108, and was buried at Woahoo, where the place of his interment is marked by a humble tombstone: Young still survives, at the advanced age of eighty-two. Besides these advisers, Tamehameha had a faithful and wise counsellor in Krymakoo, afterwards better known by the appellation of Billy Pitt.

Tamehameha having seen his country emerge from barbarism under his well-directed efforts, and having conferred upon it other important benefits, died in May 1819, at the age of sixty-three. His biographer will do him injustice if he does not rank him, however limited his sphere, and limited his means, among those great men who, like our Alfred, and Peter the Great of Russia, have rescued their countries from barbarism, and who are justly esteemed the benefac-

tors of mankind. His loss as a governor, and as a father to his people, was universally felt by his subjects. It is painful to relate that, though his death occurred so recently, several human victims were sacrificed to his manes by the priests in the morais; and, according to the custom of the islands, some who were warmly attached to him committed suicide, in order to accompany his corpse to the grave; while great numbers knocked out their front teeth, and otherwise mutilated and disfigured themselves.

Tamehameha was no sooner dead than his son Rio-Rio, who succeeded him, effected the most important change the country had yet experienced. Having held conferences with the chiefs, and obtained the sanction of Keopuolani, a powerful female of rank, he ordered all the morais to be destroyed, and declared the religion of the foreigners,—of the principles of which he was then very ignorant, should henceforth be the religion of the state. The burning of the idols and the abolition of the *taboo* immediately succeeded this destruction of the morais, and put an end to many cruel and degrading customs, both injurious to the interests of the country and oppressive to the people, especially to the females, who were thenceforth admitted to an equality with the men.

The prejudices of Tamehameha had always opposed this change in the religion of his subjects, not so much, I am informed, from his being bigoted to idolatry as from its being better adapted to his politics. The maxims of our religion he thought would tend to deprive him of that despotic power which he exercised over the lives and fortunes of his subjects. The terror inspired by human sacrifices, and the absolute command which the superstitions of his religion

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subjects gave him, suited the plan of his government better than any other religion, and he, consequently, opposed every attempt to propagate the gospel among his people.

Up to this period no missionaries had reached the Sandwich Islands, and for nearly a year there might be said to be no religion in the country; but at the expiration of that period (in 1820), several missionary gentlemen arrived from the United States, and immediately entered upon their vocations. Keopuolani became the first actual convert to the Christian religion, though in 1819 both Boki and Krymhakoo were baptized by the clergyman of Captain Freycinet's ship. Keopuolani being a chief of powerful influence, her example was followed by a great many persons, and the missionaries have since added daily to the number of their converts, and have been protected by the government, particularly by Kahumana and Kapeolani, two female chiefs next in rank to Keopuolani, and probably first in power in the islands.

Keopuolani died in 1823, after having received the sacrament. She was a grandchild of Terreeoboo, and a daughter of Kevalao, who was slain at Mowee. At the time of this victory, which added Mowee to the dominion of Tamehameha, Keopuolani was only thirteen years of age. She happened to be on the field at the moment of the defeat of her party, and became the prisoner of the conqueror, who, in order to secure his conquest by right as well as by victory, united her to himself in marriage. She had, however, afterwards, agreeably to the custom of the country, several husbands, of which one was Krymakoo, who also fell into the hands of the king at Mowee, and whose life was generously spared; and another, Hoapiri, who, though

a plebeian, was admitted to the honour of being one of the favourites of the queen. This person is the reputed father of Kiukiuli the present king, while Tamahameha is said to have been the father of Rio-Rio. The queen, however, declared both her sons to be children of the illustrious chief, and they succeeded to the throne accordingly, in cases of this nature the declaration of the mother being held sufficient.

Rio-Rio is represented to have been far inferior in intellect to his predecessor, and his youth and inexperience encouraged the superior chiefs to plan means for recovering their independence. At the moment the order was given for the destruction of the idols, a chief named Kekoakalane treacherously seized the war god, and joined by a party of rebels fled with it to Owyhee, where he hoped to excite the inhabitants in his favour, and to establish himself as an independent chief; but he was closely pursued by the gallant Krymakoo, and slain at Lakelakee, and hence that place has become celebrated, as the spot on which the last struggle for idolatry occurred. Another insurrection soon afterwards occurred at Atooi, which was quieted by the courage and promptitude of Rio-Rio, who embarked with a few faithful followers in a canoe, and in a personal conference brought the rebels back to their duty. Atooi was the last of the Sandwich Islands that was reduced to subjection by Tamahameha, and the chiefs were constantly on the watch for opportunities of recovering their independence. Russia, or at least her subjects, taking advantage of the disaffected state of Atooi, landed some guns upon that island, and erected a fort, which was taken possession of by the natives. Krymakoo, however, with a body of followers from Woahoo, overthrew the rebels. The

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chief being permitted to choose the manner of his death, desired that he might be carried to sea, and be drowned by having a weight fastened round his neck. In addition to this attempt of the Russians to separate Atooi from the kingdom, it was supposed that America was also desirous of forming a settlement upon one of the islands. Rio-Rio foreseeing that occasional rebellions might arise in his dominions, through the interference of foreign powers, determined on a voyage to England to have a personal interview with the king, under whose protection the islands had been placed by Tamehameha, and also, perhaps, from a desire to see the country which furnished articles so superior to the manufactures of his own dominions.

The death of Rio-Rio and his queen, it is well known, occurred in this visit to England. Their bodies were conveyed to the Sandwich Islands by Lord Byron, in H. M. Ship Blonde, and lodged in a house built for the purpose, where they still remain.* Lord Byron having given the chiefs, in Boki's words, "good advice," and having placed the crown upon the head of Kiukiuli, the brother of Rio-Rio, and seen the government confided to Krymakoo as regent, quitted the islands about ten months before our first arrival.

Previous to the death of Tamehameha, several European houses appeared in Woahoo. Vessels and warlike stores had been purchased with sandal wood. The navigation of the Pacific became more general in

* In 1827, some of the chiefs had been persuaded that it was improper to keep the bodies above ground, and these beautiful coffins covered with crimson velvet and silver were about to be lowered into the earth, as a commendable mortification of pride, when they were prevented by the timely arrival of a gentleman, from whom this account was derived.

consequence of the return of peace, and the islands were more frequently visited. The abolition of the taboo had already produced an entire change in the state of society, and frequent interviews with foreigners created amongst the inhabitants a desire for dress and for luxuries, which was increased by the visit of the chiefs to England. Thus improvement advanced, as might have been expected under such advantageous circumstances as those in which the Sandwich Islands were placed. At the period of our visit there were in Woahoo several respectable American merchants, in whose stores were to be found all the necessary articles of American manufacture, the productions of the China-market, wines, and almost every article of sea store. There were also two hotels, at which a person might board respectably for a dollar a day; two billiard rooms, one of which was the property of Boki; and ten or a dozen public houses for retailing spirits. The houses of the chiefs were furnished with tables and chairs, and those belonging to Kahumana with silk and velvet sofas and cushions. Not contented with the comforts of life, they latterly sought its luxuries, and even indulged in its extravagances. Kahumana filled chests with the most costly silks of China, and actually expended four thousand dollars upon the cargo of one vessel. Boki paid three thousand dollars for a service of plate as a present for the king, notwithstanding he had other services in his possession; one of which was of expensively cut glass from Pellatt and Green in London.

This progress of luxury was attended by an equally remarkable change in the civil and political arrangements of the country. At the period of our visit the king was always attended by a guard under arms; a

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sentinel presented his musket when an officer entered the threshold of the royal abode ; soldiers paraded the ramparts of a fort mounting forty guns ; and " all's well " was repeated throughout the town during the night. The harbour in the spring and autumn was crowded with foreign vessels, as many even as fifty having been seen there at one time ; five thousand stand of arms were said to be distributed over the island ; three hundred men were embodied and dressed in regimentals ; and the Sandwich Island flag was daily displayed by five brigs and eight schooners. The islands had already received consuls from Great Britain and the United States ; had concluded treaties of alliance with them ; and we have just heard that their spirit of enterprise has induced them to fit out, and despatch an expedition to take possession of some of the islands of the New Hebrides.

This state of advancement, considering the remoteness of the situation of these islands, and the little intercourse they have hitherto held with the civilized world, could hardly have been anticipated ; and we hope it may not prove too rapid to be advantageous to the country, which has now several expensive establishments to maintain, and extravagant ideas to satisfy, with means evidently diminishing, if not nearly exhausted. The treasures accumulated by Tamehameha, and the supply of that precious wood which has been so instrumental in bringing the islands into notice, have been drained to meet the expenses of ruinous purchases which have materially contributed to the apparent show of grandeur and prosperity above mentioned. The sandal wood, it is known, requires many years to arrive at a fit state for the market ; and its cultivation not having been attended

to, the wood is now becoming scarce, while the debt of the nation has considerably increased. During our visit, in order to avoid the expense attending the collection of this wood, it became necessary to levy a tax upon the people of a pecul, or 133lb. each, which they were required to bring from the mountains, under a penalty of four dollars, and to deposit with the authorities at Honoruru for the purpose of liquidating the debt of the nation. The greater part of the wood brought in was small and crooked, and only fit for the use of the Jos houses in China, where it is burned as incense, but the consumption of it there is diminishing in consequence of an order for its disuse in those places of worship. The odour of the sandal wood of the Sandwich Islands is very inferior to that of Malabar, Ceylon, and other parts of India. With the exception of the profits arising from the sale of sandal wood, of salt, and from the port dues, and from the advantage derived from merchant vessels visiting the islands for refreshments, there is no revenue of consequence; certainly none that is at all adequate to meet the expenses of the nation.

The chiefs, foreseeing the approaching crisis, are anxious to avail themselves of any prospect of an increase of revenue. Thus attempts have been made to manufacture sugar from the canes which grow very abundantly and in great luxuriance in the islands; and I sincerely hope that Mr. Marini, who has hitherto been of the greatest benefit to the government of Woahoo, may succeed in the mill which he was constructing for this purpose during our visit. But machines of this nature have already cost a very large sum, and have not hitherto succeeded, partly, perhaps, in consequence of the want of proper materials. A

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cargo of this sugar it was hoped would be ready for exportation in 1827, which was then to be carried to the Californian market, where, as it has already been said, sugar attains a high price. But the Sandwich Islands, until much more advanced in the science of cultivation, will always have to compete with Manilla in the sale of this material. Tobacco, coffee, and spices have been introduced into the islands, and it is to be hoped they will succeed under the fostering hand of the indefatigable individual before mentioned. An attempt was made to encourage the planting of cotton, which was tolerably successful the first year, but for some reasons, which were ascribed to the rigid observance of the church duties, the labourers were prevented from gathering the crop, and it rotted in the pod. It is particularly unfortunate that the attempt to cultivate this plant, which would be of great advantage to the islands, should have failed both in the Society and Sandwich groups, as it will probably discourage the inhabitants from any further endeavour to produce it. Salt has been collected from some lakes near the town, and for some time past has produced a small revenue. Hereafter it is likely to be in greater request, for the purpose of curing meat for sea store, or for exportation to Kamschatka, where it is in great demand. Flax of a good quality grows upon Owyhee, and rope for the vessels of the country is made from a species of *urtica*? As yet, however, the sandal wood is the only material that has produced any revenue of consequence.

Soon after the Christian religion had been introduced into the Sandwich Islands, several of the chiefs were taught to read and write, and were so delighted at the idea of being able to communicate their thoughts to friends at a distance, without the necessity

of disclosing them, and free from the risk of misinterpretation, that some of the scholars laboured at their task as if the prosperity of the islands depended upon penmanship alone. Education in other respects has made much slower progress than every well-wisher of the country could desire. A few individuals who have had the advantage of continued instruction have acquired a limited knowledge of the scriptures, but many remain ignorant even of the nature of the prayers they repeat; and in other subjects are entirely uninstructed.

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The missionaries appear to be very anxious to diffuse a due knowledge of the tenets of the gospel among all the inhabitants, and have laboured much to accomplish their praiseworthy purpose: but the residents in Honoruru well know what little effect their exertions have produced, probably on account of the tutors having mistaken the means of diffusing education. In the Sandwich Islands, as in all other places, there is a mania for every thing new, and, with due reverence to the subject, this was very much the case with religion in Honoruru, where almost every person might be seen hastening to the school with a slate in his hand, in the hope of being able soon to transcribe some part of the *pala pala* (the scriptures). This feeling under judicious management might have produced the greatest blessings Woahoo could have enjoyed; and the gentlemen of the mission might have congratulated themselves on having bestowed upon the inhabitants very important benefits. But they were misled by the eagerness of their hopes, and their zeal carried them beyond the limits calculated to prove beneficial to the temporal interests of a people, still in the earliest stage of civilization. The apparent

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thirst after scriptural knowledge in Honoruru created a belief among the missionaries that this feeling was become general, and auxiliary schools were established in different parts of the island, at which we were informed every adult was required to attend several times a day.

While this demand upon their time was confined within reasonable limits, the chiefs, generally, were glad to find their subjects listen to instruction; but when men were obliged to quit their work, and to repair to the nearest auxiliary school so frequently during the day, so much ~~disturbance~~ was produced by loss of labour, and such ~~ruinous~~ consequences threatened the country, that many of the chiefs became desirous of checking it. Kahumana and her party, however, persisted in considering it desirable, and in supporting the missionaries; while a powerful party, at the head of which were the king and the regent, exerted themselves to counteract their endeavours. Thus dissensions arose very prejudicial both to the cause of religion and to the interests of the country. The chiefs lost their influence, the subjects neglected their work, and hypocrisy on the one side, and intemperance on the other, became the prevailing errors of the time; the latter indulged in probably to a greater extent, with the view of bringing ridicule on the opposite party; a scheme in which it is said that Boki himself condescended to join.

At length the regent and other chiefs determined to break through this rigid discipline. The ten commandments had been recommended as the sole law of the land: this proposition was obstinately opposed; a meeting was called by the missionaries to justify their conduct, at which they lost ground by a proposal that

the younger part of the community only should be obliged to attend the schools, and that the men should be permitted to continue at their daily labour. The king, whose riding, bathing, and other exercises had been restricted, now threw off all restraint, and appeared in public wearing the sword and feather belonging to the uniform presented to him from this country by Lord Byron, which his preceptor had forbid him to use, under the impression that it might excite his vanity. The boys, following the example of their youthful sovereign, resumed their games, which had been stopped; and among other acts which, though apparently trifling, discovered to the common people a spirit of opposition, and an earnestness on the part of the chiefs to overthrow the system that had been brought into operation, Koañoa, who had long been enamoured of a female chief, Kenow, whom Kahumana intended for the king (although she was old enough to be his mother), being refused the marriage ceremony by the mission, carried off the object of his desire, and took her to his home.

This was the state in which we found Woahoo, and from it the missionaries might extract a useful lesson while imparting religious instruction to mankind, of the necessity of combining their temporal interests with those which relate to their prospects of futurity.

It was supposed, from the manner in which Kahumana persevered in her support of the missionaries, that she was actuated by a deeper policy than appeared. Her jealousy at the investment of the sovereign power in the king and Boki was well known; and it was surmised that she entertained hopes of creating a party which, in the event of the death of Pitt, then daily expected, would forward her ambitious

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views. Whether this surmise was just I do not pretend to say ; but she certainly did not succeed, that event having passed off during our stay without any movement in her favour.

Amidst this conflicting interest of parties, we were gratified to observe the greatest cordiality between the chiefs and the English and American residents, neither of whom took part in these state quarrels. To strengthen this feeling, a public dinner was given by the officers of the Blossom and myself to the king and all the royal family, the consuls, the chiefs, and the principal merchants resident in the place. On this occasion, the king was received with the honours due to his rank. He was dressed in full uniform, and altogether made a very elegant appearance. His behaviour at table was marked with the greatest propriety, and though he seemed fully aware of the superiority of Europeans, he appeared at the same time conscious that the attentions he received were no more than a just tribute to his rank. Boki, the regent, Koanoa, the colonel of the troops, and Manuia, the captain of the port, were dressed in the Windsor uniform ; and Kahumana, and the two female chiefs next in rank, were arrayed in silk dresses, and had expended a profusion of lavender water upon their cambric handkerchiefs. Many loyal and patriotic toasts succeeded the dinner, some of which were proposed by Boki, in compliment to the king of England and the president of the United States, between both of whom and his royal protégé he expressed a hope that the warmest friendship would always subsist. The chiefs drank to the health of several persons who had shown them attention in London, and in compliment to the ladies of England proposed as a toast,

"The pretty girls of the Adelphi." Throughout the day the islanders acquitted themselves very creditably, and their conduct showed a close observance of European manners.

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A few days afterwards the king gave an entertainment, at which his guests were seated at a long table spread in the European style, and furnished with some very good wines. Among other good things we had Leuhow, a dish of such delicious quality that excursions are occasionally made to the plantations for the pleasure of dining upon it; and, from this circumstance, a pic-nic and a Leuhow party have become nearly synonymous. The ingredients of the dish are generally the tops of the taro plant and mullet which have been fattened in ponds; these are wrapped in large leaves and baked in the ground, though sometimes fowls and pork are used. In order to amuse us, the king had also assembled several dancers and the best bards in the island; and we had the pleasure of witnessing some native performances, which were the more interesting, as these entertainments will shortly lose all their originality by the introduction of foreign customs. On the present occasion, indeed, it was difficult to procure performers of any celebrity, and both bards and dancers were sent for from a considerable distance; and even then only two of the latter were considered worth our notice. The performance opened with a song in honour of Tamehameha, to which succeeded an account of the visit of Rio Rio and his queen to England; their motives for undertaking the voyage were explained; their parting with their friends at Woahoo; their sea-sickness; their landing in England; the king's attempts to speak English; the beautiful women of this country; and

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the sickness and death of the youthful royal pair, were described with much humour, good-nature, and feeling.

The natives were delighted with this performance, especially with that part which exhibited the sea-sickness, and the efforts of the king to speak English; but our slight acquaintance with the language did not enable us fully to appreciate the allusions. In the next performance, however, this defect was less felt. The song was executed by three celebrated bards, whose gray beards hung down upon their breasts: they were clothed in their rude native costume, and each had the under part of his right arm tattooed in straight lines from the wrist to the armpit. They accompanied themselves upon drums made of two gourds neatly joined together, and ornamented with black devices. Each bard had one of these instruments attached to his left wrist by a cord; the instrument was placed upon a cushion, and the performer throughout measured time by beating with his right hand upon the aperture of the gourd. The subject related to the illustrious Tamehameha, whose warlike exploits are the constant theme of these people. Occasionally the bards seemed to be inspired; they struck their left breasts violently with the palms of their hands, and performed a number of evolutions with their drums, all of which were executed simultaneously, and with ease, decision, and grace. On the whole it was an exhibition very creditable to the talents of the performers. To this succeeded several dances: the first, performed by a native of Atooi, was recommended principally by a display of muscular energy; the next was executed by a man who was esteemed the most accomplished actor of his time in

Woahoo, and the son of the most celebrated dancer the islands ever had. He wore an abundance of native cloth, variously stained, wrapped about his waist, and grass ornaments fixed upon his legs above the ancles. A garland of green leaves passed over his right shoulder and under his left arm, and a wreath of yellow blossoms, very commonly worn in the Sandwich Islands, was wound twice round his head. Unlike the former dance, the merit of this consisted in an exhibition of graceful action, and a repetition of elegant and unconstrained movements.

The dance of the females was spoiled by a mistaken refinement, which prevented their appearing, as formerly, with no other dress than a covering to the hips, and a simple garland of flowers upon the head; instead of this they were provided with frilled chemises, which so far from taking away the appearance of indecency, produced an opposite effect, and at once gave the performance a stamp of indelicacy. In this dance, which by the way is the only one the females of these islands have, they ranged themselves in a line, and began swinging the arms carelessly, but not ungracefully, from side to side; they then proceeded to the more active part of the dance, the principal art of which consisted in twisting the loins without moving the feet or the bust. After fatiguing themselves in accomplishing this to the satisfaction of the spectators, they jumped sidewise, still twisting their bodies, and accompanying their actions with a chorus, the words of which we supposed bore some allusion to the performance. We had afterwards a sham-fight with short spears, wherein very little skill was exhibited, and, compared with the dexterity of the warlike Tamehameha, who is said by Vancouver to have successfully

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evaded six spears thrown at him at the same instant, the present representation was quite contemptible. These exercises are now seldom practised, and in a short time, no doubt, both they and the dances will cease to be exhibited.

On the 12th of February, we received the melancholy intelligence of the death of Krymakoo, who had long suffered under a dropsical complaint, for which he had undergone frequent operations. Only four days previously he went to bathe in the sea at Kairua, in Owyhee, and on coming out of the water he was taken ill, and died very soon afterwards. He was at an advanced age, and had been present at the death of our immortal countryman in Karakakoa Bay, and perfectly recollected that fatal transaction. Krymakoo, or, as he was more generally called, Pitt, from the circumstance of his being a contemporary prime minister with our great statesman, became a protégé of Tamehameha shortly after the departure of Cook's ships. He is first introduced to our notice by Vancouver, who particularly remarks his superior manners and conduct. His life was devoted to the advantage of his country, and to the support of his illustrious patron, in whose service he distinguished himself alike as a warrior and a counsellor. Intelligent, faithful, and brave, he was confided in and beloved by his king and his countrymen, and he was a chief in whom the foreign residents placed implicit reliance. His ardent spirit and anxiety for the welfare of his country led Tamehameha on one or two occasions of insurrection to suspect his fidelity, and in order to put it to the test he is said to have deprived him for the time of his estates; an act of injustice, calculated rather to increase than to allay any dissatisfaction that might have

existed in his mind. Pitt, nevertheless, remained faithful, and fought by the side of his patron. After the death of Tamehameha, he enjoyed almost sovereign power, which he employed to the benefit and civilization of his countrymen. His command of temper was not less praiseworthy than his other virtues. On the occasion of some misunderstanding between the missionaries and the seamen of an American vessel, the crew went on shore with the view of burning Mr. Bingham's house, but mistaking the place, they set fire to one belonging to Pitt. The natives immediately flew to protect the property of their favourite chief, and a serious quarrel was about to take place, to the disadvantage of the Americans, when Pitt, who had escaped the flames, harangued the mob with the greatest composure, induced them to desist from acts of violence, and persuaded the crew, who by this time had discovered their mistake, to return to their vessel. It has been asserted of Pitt that he was extremely ambitious; but his ambition seems to have had no other object than the welfare of his country: had he aspired to the crown, there were many favourable opportunities of which he might have availed himself without much risk of failure, of which the death of Tamehameha, the revolt of Kekoakalane, the insurrection of Atōoi and others are sufficient instances. He left one son, whom he was very anxious to have educated in England, and pressed his request so earnestly that I had consented to take him on board the Blossom, but the vessel which was sent to bring him from Owyhee returned hastily with the news of the death of the chief, which frustrated the plan. Immediately this event was known the flags of the forts and the shipping were lowered half-mast, and the shores of the bay resounded with the wailings of the inhabitants.

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It had been supposed that the ambition and jealousy of Kahumana and the conflicting interests of the chiefs would have displayed themselves in insurrection on this occasion, and that the disaffected chiefs would have availed themselves of this moment to remove the supreme power from the hands of the young king; but whatever results this melancholy event might have produced had it occurred at an earlier date, nothing was now attempted. Boki, however, thought it prudent to assemble the troops in the fort, and the Blossom was put in readiness to preserve order, if necessary, and to receive the foreign residents, should their safety require it. Anxious to witness the effect of this occurrence upon the court, I immediately paid a visit of condolence to Kahumana, who was seated amidst a motley assemblage of attendants, looking very sorrowful. It appeared, however, from the following incident, that the sincerity of her grief was questionable. Happening to cast her eye upon a Bramah inkstand which I was conveying to the observatory, she seized it with both hands, and declared, her countenance brightening into a smile, how much she should like to have it. As it was the only one I possessed, I did not intend at first to gratify her majesty's wishes, but she fairly tore it from me: so that, making a virtue of necessity, I presented it to her. After bestowing some praise upon the invention, she passed it to Karui, a female chief next in rank to herself, and then dismissing her pleasant looks, she resumed her sorrow, and convinced every person present that she was quite an adept in this barbarous custom of her country.

Many of the court seemed to consider this moment one of apprehension, and every person who ap-

proached the queen's abode was at first supposed to be the bearer of the news of some insurrection or other convulsion of the state. As he entered the room, therefore, there was a dead silence; but when it was found that these visits were made merely to inquire after the health of the queen, the wailing, as if it had suffered by the disappointment, burst forth with redoubled energy. Kahumana herself evidently anticipated some disturbance, for she whispered to me to be upon my guard, as there was a probability that the people would be mischievous. Nothing, however, occurred to disturb the tranquillity of the town but the wailing around the royal abode.

It is unnecessary here to describe many instances of the extent to which this hypocritical affectation of grief was carried; suffice it to say, that several persons, as if determined to perpetuate the barbarous practice of self-mutilation, knocked out their front teeth with hammers.

The queen almost immediately after the death of her brother embarked for Owyhee in a native schooner, to the great satisfaction of the chiefs and the European residents in Woahoo. As it was probably the last time she would see us, she was complimented with a royal salute on leaving the harbour.

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CHAPTER IV.

Further Remarks on the Inhabitants—Treaty of Alliance—Climate—Medicinal Properties of the Ava—Supplies—Departure—Passage to China—Ladrone and Bashee Islands—Arrival at Macao—Transactions there—Departure—Botel Tobago Xima—Arrival at the Great Loo Choo.

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ON the return of the ship to the Sandwich Islands the chiefs were very anxious to learn where she had been, and to be informed whether in some of the countries she had visited, the produce of their dominions might not find a favourable market. Kahumana, in particular, was so much interested in these inquiries that she condescended to direct her attention to them, and laid aside a missionary book with which she had been instructing her mind while the back part of her body was undergoing the soothing operation of being pinched by one of her female attendants. The conversation happening to turn upon Bird Island, Boki, on hearing it was so near to the Sandwich group, meditated its addition to the dominions of the king, no doubt under the impression of its being similar to one of the Sandwich Islands, and was greatly disappointed when informed that the island was not worth his possession. The account of the high price of sugar in California quite put him in good humour with his sugar-mills, which for some

time past had been a subject of annoyance to him, in consequence of the expense incurred by their continually breaking. All parties were evidently desirous to extend their commerce, and a spirit of enterprise appeared to have diffused itself amongst them, which it is to be hoped may continue.

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During our absence two important political events had occurred—the negociation of a treaty of alliance between Captain Jones, of the United States' sloop Peacock, on the part of America, and Boki, the regent, on the part of the Sandwich Islands; by which the reception of the American vessels in the Sandwich Islands, on the footing of the most favoured nation, was guaranteed to America in the event of that nation being involved in hostilities with any other power. The other was the resignation of Pitt, who, being aware of his approaching dissolution, retired to Owyhee, and left his brother Boki to act as regent. Boki, who, it may be remembered, accompanied the late King Rio-Rio to England, appears to have derived much benefit from that visit, and on his return to the Sandwich Islands to have become very desirous of improving the condition of his countrymen. He was, however, a less active governor than Pitt, and less capable of effecting those changes which experience had nevertheless convinced him were necessary for their advancement.

The town of Honoruru had now a more cleanly and lively appearance than on our former visit, and the streets, occupied by happy little children who had resumed their games, wore a more cheerful aspect. There was an improvement also in the society of the place, arising apparently from the arrival of some Europeans, particularly of the consul's family, which

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was of very great advantage to the females of Woahoo, who seemed anxious to imitate their manners, and were so desirous of becoming acquainted with the method of arranging their different articles of dress, that it required an unusual share of good nature to avoid taking offence at the rude manner in which they gratified their curiosity. The females of Woahoo are shrewd observers of these matters, and on great occasions endeavour to imitate foreigners as nearly as they can ; but the powerful influence of fashion has not been yet able entirely to get the better of that other powerful principle, early habit, and the women of the Sandwich Islands in retirement still adhere to their old customs, affording as curious an instance as was ever beheld of barbarism walking hand in hand with civilization.

The lower class of the inhabitants of Woahoo have varied their dress very little from its original style ; though in Honoruru some females may be seen clothed in the cotton of Europe, and even in the silks of China, with green and red shoes, and sometimes with parasols. They obtain these articles as presents from the crews of such ships as touch at the port. In every uncivilized country which has as much foreign intercourse as Woahoo, incongruities must be of frequent occurrence ; thus we were daily in the habit of seeing ladies disencumber themselves of their silks, slippers, and parasols, and swim off in fine style to different vessels, carrying their bundles on their heads, and resuming their finery when they got on board. Nor was it less amusing to observe them jump overboard soon after daylight, and continue sporting and swimming about the vessels in the harbour like so many nereids ; practices to which they adhere with as

much fondness as ever. Many, however, now think it necessary to put on a bathing gown when they take this recreation.

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The men make very tolerable seamen, and are particularly useful in boats. Accustomed from their infancy to the water, they are as much at home in that element as on land; and having frequently encountered gales of wind at sea in their open canoes, they have no apprehension of them on board a strongly built ship. They are active and honest, and many of them are taken on board merchant ships visiting the islands, as part of their crews.

In the course of time it is to be hoped that they will become sufficiently enlightened to navigate their own vessels, as they at present depend upon foreigners for the performance of that service. Their vessels are now generally chartered to Americans, who bear a certain proportion of the expenses of the voyage, and have *carte blanche* to proceed where they please, and to collect, sell, and purchase cargoes at their discretion, and as it may seem most advantageous for themselves and the owners, who divide the profits of the venture at the end of the voyage. Their occupation consists principally in trading with California and the islands of the Pacific, or in making sealing voyages; in which case the skins they obtain are carried to some foreign market, and the proceeds applied to the purchase of a new cargo adapted to the wants of the Sandwich Islanders; such as horses, or furniture, and other household materials. Upon the whole, these returns are said to be by no means equal to the risk and expenses of the voyage; and the ships, being built of slight materials, require constant repair,

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and soon wear out: so that their navy, at present, is of no great advantage to the state.

No duties have as yet been imposed on any goods, either imported or exported, and the only charges made by the government are the port dues, which are very prudently lighter on vessels touching at the islands for refreshments only, than upon those which bring cargoes of merchandize; the charge in the former case is six, and in the latter fifty, cents per ton for the outer anchorage, and ten and sixty cents per ton respectively for the inner anchorage.

The Sandwich Islanders will apparently make as good soldiers as they do sailors, and are so proud of the honour of being embodied in the corps of the state, that they cannot suffer a greater disgrace than to have the regimentals taken from them and to be turned out of the ranks. They were repeatedly drilled by our serjeant of marines, and though under the disadvantage of not understanding the language in which the word of command was given, they improved quite as much as men in general would have done who had been in the habit of seeing the exercise performed. The inhabitants appear disposed to learn any thing that does not require labour, and soldiering soon became so completely a mania, that the king had the choice of his subjects; and little boys were seen in all parts of the town tossing up a sugar cane, with a "shoulder ump!" and some of the troop, even after being dismissed, would rehearse the lesson of the day by themselves. The islanders have a good idea of acting in concert, derived from their early exercise of the *palalu*, so interestingly described by Vancouver, in which they were accustomed to

form solid squares; and when engaged, presented a formidable phalanx, which it was not easy to force.

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Among other services which we performed for the king was an inspection of his cannon in the forts, some of which were so corroded, that in all probability their discharge would have been productive of serious accidents to some of his subjects. We also furnished him with twenty tons of stones, which we had taken in at Chamisso Island as ballast, to be used in rebuilding the wall of his mud fort.

It is unnecessary to describe further the inhabitants of a country which has already been the subject of several volumes. Enough has been said to show that the people are fast imbibing foreign customs, and daily improving both in their manners and dress.

The harbour of Honoruru is the general rendezvous of all the whale ships employed in the North Pacific Ocean. In the spring time these vessels assemble here to the number of forty or fifty sail at a time, and take on board large supplies of vegetables and fruit, as sea stock, to enable them to remain upon their fishing ground until the autumn, when many of them return to the port. The fresh provision which they procure at these islands is of the greatest advantage to the crews of the whalers, who would otherwise be afflicted with scurvy; and the goods which they give in exchange are very acceptable to the inhabitants. A number of idle dissolute seamen however, discontented with their ships, generally remain behind, and live in the public houses until their money and clothes are expended, or attach themselves to females, and in either way become dependent upon the inhabitants for food. These characters do infinite mischief to the

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lower order of the natives, by encouraging them in intemperance, debauchery, idleness, and all kind of vice; nearly sufficient of themselves to counteract all the labours of the missionaries in the diffusion of morality and religion.

The harbour is formed by a coral reef, which extends along the coast from the Pearl River to Wytiet Bay, but connected with the shore at intervals, so as to impede the passage of vessels. The entrance is very narrow and intricate, and vessels are generally towed in early in the morning, before the breeze freshens. There is a rock nearly in mid-channel upon which the sea generally breaks. Sometimes indeed it breaks quite across the entrance, and renders it necessary at that time, in particular, to employ a pilot. The depth in the channel at high water is about eighteen feet; but as I did not make a plan of this port, in consequence of Lieutenant Malden of the *Blonde* having so recently executed all that was necessary in that respect, I cannot speak positively. In sailing along the reefs in boats it is necessary to keep at a considerable distance on account of the sudden rise of the sea, which is very apt to fill or upset them when it breaks; and boats should not at any time pull for the entrance until they have gained a proper station off it. I refer to the directions in my nautical remarks for finding this station, and also for further information regarding this port.

The climate of the Sandwich Islands is more refreshing than that of Otaheite, although the group is scarcely farther from the equator. I am not aware that any register has been kept for a whole year at Otaheite; but at Woahoo this has been done by the gentlemen attached to the missions, from which it ap-

pears that the mean temperature for 1821 was 75° , the maximum 88° , and the minimum 59° , and that the daily range on an average was about 13° . In the last fortnight of May 1826, we found the maximum 83° , and minimum 74° ; and in the last fortnight of February 1827, maximum 80° , and minimum 58° .

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The N. E. trade wind, in general, blows strong to the windward of the Sandwich Islands, though for many miles to leeward of them frequent calms and light baffling winds prevail, and impede the navigation between the islands. About the period of the rainy season these winds are interrupted by gales from north-west to south-west, but when they cease the trade resumes its usual course. The duration of this season at Woahoo is from February to May. In 1826 it was over on the 19th of May; and in 1827, it began on the 17th of February. At this period the rains are occasionally very heavy; in 1826 and 1830, I have been informed they were particularly so; at other times, however, the reverse takes place, and from August 1821, to the same month of the following year, it appears by the register of the missionaries that there were but forty days on which rain fell.

The windward sides of the islands are said to be much colder, and to be subject to more rain than those to leeward. They are also liable to fogs in the spring of the year, while those which are opposite are enjoying sunshine. The mountains, from their height, act upon the atmosphere as powerful condensers, and in particular times of the year are scarcely ever free from mists; these are occasionally detached by gusts of wind and carried over the leeward parts of the island, and it is not unusual in Honoruru to expe-

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rience a pretty sharp sprinkling of rain without perceiving any cloud from whence it proceeds.

Water-spouts not unfrequently visit these islands, one of which I was told burst over the harbour of Honoruru, discharging such a quantity of water that the sea rose three feet. I have repeatedly seen this phenomenon on a small scale carrying a column of dust along the plains near Honoruru, and whirling hats into the air; and I once saw a native boy greatly puzzled to escape from its influence.

I shall conclude these remarks with some observations on the use and effects of the ava, a root which was formerly in much use in the Pacific, taken from the Journal of the surgeon of the Blossom. The intoxicating property of the ava root, the cutaneous eruption which succeeds its use, and the renovating effect it has upon the constitution, have been noticed ever since the discovery of the Society Islands. Mr. Collie observes, that—"a course of it is most beneficial in renovating constitutions which have been worn out by hard living, long residence in warm climates, without, however, affections of the liver, and by protracted chronic diseases; more especially if the disorder be such as by the humoral pathologists would be attributed to an attenuated or acrid state of the blood." He had an opportunity of seeing "a gentleman, a foreigner, who had undergone a course of it to remove a cutaneous affection said to have been similar to St. Anthony's fire. It had affected at different times almost every part of the body, going from one place to another, but had been particularly obstinate in one leg. He took two doses a day of half a pint each, one before breakfast and one before dinner, by which his appetite was sharpened; and by the time he had

finished his meal a most pleasing state of half intoxication had come on, so that he was just able to go to his couch, where he enjoyed a sound and refreshing sleep.

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"About the second or third week, the eyes became suffused with blood, and the cuticle around them began to scale, when the whole surface of the body assumed the appearance above described. The first dose is continued for a week or so, according to the disease, and then gradually left off. The skin clears at the same time, and the whole system is highly benefited.

"I recommended the *ava*, and had an opportunity of seeing the first effects upon a man affected with chronic superficial ulceration, affecting the greater part of the toes, and the anterior part of the soles of the feet. The legs and feet were œdematous and swelled; the pain was very distressing, preventing any sound repose, and not permitting him even to lie down or bring them up, so as to be near a line horizontal with the body. The ulcers were covered with a tough, viscid, dark-coloured discharge that adhered to the surface, and entirely concealed it. His frame was emaciated, pulse quick and irritable, appetite gone, tongue dry and reddish; he had taken mercurial preparations at two previous periods, as he said, with considerable benefit; but for want of the medicines it was stopped, when the sores were nearly healed. He had been, and I believe still was, addicted to drinking spirituous liquors. The *ava* was given three times a day with the same immediate effects as before-mentioned, and at the end of ten days the ulcers were clean and healing. From the commencement of the course he had been able to lie down, allowing his feet

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to hang over the bed-side: he had slept soundly, and his appetite was good. Could he have procured and applied a suitable dressing for the ulcers, with appropriate support to the œdematous extremities, I have no hesitation in saying that the plan would have succeeded. Even with all these disadvantages, I am inclined to believe that a cure will be effected if he abstains from liquor."

In this account of the Sandwich Islands, I have avoided touching upon subjects connected with the mythology, traditions, and early manners and customs of the islanders, from a conviction that I could give but an imperfect sketch of them, and from a hope that they will hereafter be laid before the public by the author of *Polynesian Researches*, who from his intimate knowledge of the language, his long residence in the Pacific, and from the nature of his occupations, has greater opportunities of becoming acquainted with them than any other foreigner. My endeavour has been to give as faithful an account as I could of the government, and of the state of society in the islands at the time of our visit, and of the resources and commerce of the country. Had my occupations been less numerous, I might have done more justice to these subjects; but the determination of the position of the place, and attention to other observations, occupied my time so completely, that I had very little leisure for other pursuits.

The results of the observations that were made there will be given in the Appendix; and the natural history will form part of two volumes which will shortly appear before the public.

During the absence of the ship from the Sandwich Islands, Captain Charlton, the consul, had succeeded

in procuring a supply of salt provision for her. This was the more opportune, as the meat which had been corned in California was found on examination to be so bad that it was necessary to throw the whole of it overboard. We at first imagined that this failure proceeded from our ignorance of the method of curing the meat, but that which had been prepared at Monterey, by a person brought up to the business, was found to be equally bad; and the failure, in all probability, arose from the heated and feverish state in which the animals were slaughtered. We frequently remonstrated with the governor of San Francisco against being obliged to kill the animals in this state, and begged he would have them penned up until the following day, as they were quite wild, had been harassed with lassos, and dragged many miles by tame bullocks. We did not however succeed, and if the animals were not slaughtered as they were delivered into our charge, they either made their escape, or, as was the case with several, broke their necks in their struggles for freedom. The present supply of provision was consequently of the greatest importance. In addition to this we procured a few other stores, but not sufficient for our purpose, and there were no medicines to be had, so that it was still necessary to proceed to China.

As soon as the ship was ready for sea, therefore, we endeavoured to sail, but the wind about this time blew from the south-west, and kept us imprisoned a fortnight; the harbour of Honoruru being so difficult of egress, that, unless the wind be fair, or there be a perfect calm, a vessel cannot proceed to sea. On the 4th of March, however, we took our leave of the authorities and residents of the place, from both of

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whom we had received the greatest attention, and put to sea on our way to Macao.

Upon leaving the Sandwich Islands I directed the course to the southward; and next day, having gained the latitude of $18^{\circ} 32'$ N., I stood to the westward, with the intention of pursuing the above-mentioned parallel as far as the Ladrone Islands. I did this with a view of keeping fairly within the limit of the trade wind, which, at the season of the year in which this passage was made, is frequently variable in a higher latitude, and even subject to interruptions from strong north-westerly winds. I was also desirous of ascertaining the position of an island bearing the name of Wake's Island, upon Arrowsmith's chart, situated directly in the route between the Sandwich Islands and China.

A fresh trade-wind attended us until the fifth day after our departure, when it was interrupted by a breeze from the southward. The serenity of the sky which accompanied the trade, now became obscured by heavy thunder clouds, which gathered around us until the night of the 6th, when they completely blackened the sky. We had lightning frequently during the day, which increased so much towards night, that from eight o'clock to daylight the following morning the sky presented an uninterrupted blaze of light. It was unusually near; the forked lightning passed between the masts several times, and the zenith occasionally presented a fiery mass of short curved lines, which shot off in different directions like as many arrows; while the heavy peals of thunder which generally accompany these storms were subdued by crackling discharges not unlike the report of musketry from a long line of infantry. About the commencement of

this storm the temperature fell four degrees, but gradually rose again to its former height. The sympeisometer was not sensibly affected.

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On the following day fine weather was restored, the trade took its proper direction ; and the sea, which had been much agitated by the changeable winds, abated, and we pursued a steady course. About four days afterwards a brilliant meteor was discharged from the zenith towards the north-west, in the direction of some heavy clouds (nimbi), which were pouring down torrents of rain. It presented a long bright liquid flame of a bluish cast, and was followed by a train of sparks, until it had reached within 15° of the horizon, when it exploded, and three distinct fragments, having the appearance of being red hot, were discharged. They gradually lost their brilliancy as they fell, and were quite extinguished before they came in contact with the water. With the exception of the nimbi in the north-west, the sky was perfectly clear, particularly at the zenith, whence the meteor appeared first to be discharged. After these meteorological disturbances we had fine weather almost all the remainder of the passage.

At two o'clock on the 15th we were within a few leagues of the situation of Wake's Island, and the ship was brought to until daylight ; but seeing no land at that time we bore away again, and at noon were exactly on the spot where the island is placed in Arrow-smith's chart. A few tern and a gannet were seen about eight o'clock in the morning, but we had no other indications of land : still in the expectation of falling in with it, we continued the course due west, and ran throughout the night, which was clear and fine, but without being more successful. I afterwards learned that the

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master of an American trader landed upon a coral island, nearly in the same longitude, in the latitude $19^{\circ} 18'$ N. which is about twenty-three miles to the northward of the island in Arrowsmith's chart, and in all probability is the same place.

With fine weather and a fair wind we pursued our course, without experiencing any inconvenience except that occasioned by a long swell from the northward, which made the ship roll heavily almost all the passage. On the 25th we saw the island of Assumption, and the next day passed close to it, in order to determine its position. The island is about a league in circumference, and rises from the sea in the perfect form of a cone to the height of 2,026 feet. Time must have made an agreeable alteration in the appearance of this island since it was visited by La Perouse. Instead of a cone covered with lava and volcanic glass, and presenting the forbidding aspect he describes, we traced vegetation nearly to the summit, and observed woods of palm-trees skirting its base; particularly in the south-west side. We were more fortunate than La Perouse in obtaining a view of the crater formed at the apex of the cone; it appeared to be very small and perfect, and to emit no smoke. La Perouse, in sailing to leeward of this island, experienced a strong sulphurous odour. There was none, however, when we visited the spot; but it is very probable that the volcano may have been in action when he passed, which might also account for the desolation of which he speaks.

There appeared to be no danger near this island, but, on the contrary, judging from the deep blue colour of the sea, there was deep water close to the base of the island. The south-west side is the least abrupt, but even in that direction La Perouse informs

us ships are obliged to come very close to the shore before they can find anchorage, and then only with a very long scope of cable. This bank is formed of lava and scoriæ, and, being on the leeward side of the island, has probably been raised by frequent eruptions of the volcano. There were no projections in any part of the island, that we could perceive, sufficient to afford protection to a boat attempting to land, and the sea in consequence broke heavily against it in every direction.

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The day being clear, we looked to the southward for the island of Agrigan, which on Arrowsmith's chart is placed within twelve miles of the Mangs, but no land could be discerned in that direction, and from the state of the weather, I should think there could not have been any within at least twelve leagues distance of us. This would make the channel between Assumption and Agrigan about forty miles wide: the jesuits extend it to sixty; but this cannot be the case, as it would place Agrigan near the latitude of $18^{\circ} 45' N.$ in which parallel Ybargottia, according to Espinosa, has placed the island of Pagon. It seems necessary, therefore to contract the channel between Assumption and Agrigan as marked in the jesuits' plan, and to reduce the size of Agrigan in order to reconcile the position of the islands. Arrowsmith has incorrectly placed the Mangs on the south side of Assumption; by our astronomical bearings they are situated $N. 27^{\circ} 7' 30'' W.$ (true) from the south-east end of that island, and are in latitude $19^{\circ} 57' 02'' N.$ They consist of three high rocks, lying in a south-easterly direction.*

* It is somewhat remarkable that in passing to the southward of the island of Assumption, at the distance of four miles and a half, we did not discover the rocks which Captain Freycinet has

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From what I saw of the island of Assumption it appears to be a very proper headland for ships coming from the eastward and bound to Canton to steer for. It is high, and may be safely approached in the night if the weather is clear; and there is a wide channel to the southward of it. It is far preferable to adopt this channel than to pass to the northward of the Mariana group, which is sometimes done; as I am credibly informed that there is much broken ground in that direction. We have as yet no good chart of this group of islands. The geographical position of Assumption and of the Mangs will be found in the table at the end of this work.

Under the lee of the island we observed a great many birds, principally of the pelican tribe, of which there was a species supposed by our naturalists to be new. It is described as being smaller than the frigate-bird, and of a dark brown colour, with the exception of the belly and breast, which were white, and the bill, which was either white or of a light lead colour.

From the Ladrões, I directed the course for the Bashee Islands, and on the 7th of April, after experiencing light and variable winds, got sight of the two northern islands of that group. The long northerly swell, which had attended us almost all the way from the Sandwich Islands, ceased immediately we were to the westward of the Ladrões; and indeed

supposed to be the Mangs, situated in latitude $19^{\circ} 32' N$. Our latitude when in the meridian of Assumption was $19^{\circ} 36' N$. by which it is evident that we must have passed within four miles of these rocks, provided both latitudes be correct. Had I known of their existence at the time, I should certainly have stood to the southward, in order to connect them by triangulation with the Assumption and the Mangs; but Captain Freycinet's discoveries were not then published.

the sea between them and the Bashee Islands was so smooth that its heave was scarcely perceptible. We found by our observations that the magnetic meridian intersects the channel between these two groups of islands in the meridian of $226^{\circ} 48'$ W. in the latitude of $20^{\circ} 12'$ N.

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The Bashee Islands, so called by the Buccaneers, in consequence of a drink of that name, which was extracted by the natives from the sugar-cane, form a long group very similar to the Ladrones, and extend in the same direction nearly from north to south. Until these islands were surveyed by Captain Horsburgh their positions were as incorrectly determined as those of the Ladrones are at present. A contrary wind, which rendered it necessary to beat through the channel between them and Botel Tobago Xima, afforded an opportunity of connecting these islands trigonometrically, and of obtaining transit bearings when in intermediate stations between them. The longitude also was afterwards measured backwards and forwards between them and Macao, and we thus had an opportunity of examining the chart of Captain Horsburgh, which appeared to be constructed with great truth and with his usual accuracy.

I regret not having seen the Cumbrian reef; we stood purposely towards it until sun-set, and were within six miles of its situation when we were obliged to go about by the approach of night.

The next day we stood toward the island of Formosa and tacked within four miles of the Vele rete rocks, the largest of which has the appearance of a vessel under sail. They lie off the south end of the island of Formosa,* and are surrounded by breakers,

* The large rock bears S. $29^{\circ} 09' 15''$ E. from the west end of Lamay Island.

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which in thick weather could not be approached with safety. We observed strong ripples in the water near them, but the wind did not permit us to enter any for the purpose of sounding; late in the evening, however, when we were several leagues from them, the weather being nearly calm, we were drawn into one of these ripples and continued in it several hours, during which time we tried for soundings with a hundred fathoms of line without success. Upon trial a current was found to set S. E. seven furlongs per hour; this experiment, however, was made from the ship by mooring a buoy, and was probably incorrect, as the water was much agitated; and had a vessel seen it, or even heard it in the night-time (for it made a considerable noise), she would have taken it for breakers and put about. A peculiar smell was detected in the atmosphere while we remained unmanageable in this local disturbance of the water, which some ascribed to sea-weed, and others to dead fish, but it was never ascertained whence it arose. Some seamen have an idea, though it is not very general, that this peculiar odour precedes a change of weather, and sometimes a storm, particularly in the Mediterranean. On the present occasion nothing of the kind occurred immediately, though about twenty-six hours afterwards, when crossing the channel between Formosa and the mainland, the temperature fell sixteen degrees from the average height of the preceding day, and the wind blew strong from the northward.

Before daylight on the 10th, while we were crossing the channel to the westward of Formosa, going at the rate of ten miles an hour, we found ourselves surrounded by Chinese fishing boats, and narrowly escaped running over several of them, as it was very

dark, and they were so thick that in trying to escape one we endangered another, and were obliged to lie to until daylight. These boats are large vessels, and would endanger a small merchant ship were she to run foul of any of them. We were informed that they were upon their usual fishing ground, and vessels therefore in approaching the spot should be cautious how they proceed, as these boats carry only a large paper lantern, which cannot be seen far off, and I believe they only show this when they perceive a strange vessel. They were fishing in pairs, one vessel being attached by cables to each end of an enormous net, which kept them both broadside to the sea; they were constantly covered with the spray, and being light, were washed about in so violent a manner that it scarcely appeared possible for people to stand upon their decks. Still the crews of several which we passed consisted principally of females, who did not appear to be in the least inconvenienced by their situation.

In the forenoon we passed Piedra Branca, and in the evening entered the channel between the Great Lemma and Potoy. As no pilot offered, I stood on, guided by the chart of Lieutenant Ross, which was extremely accurate, and at ten at night brought up in the Lantao passage, and at nine o'clock next morning anchored in the Typa. In entering this harbour we found less depth of water than is marked in the plan of Captain King; and by the survey which we subsequently made, it appeared that at low water a ship cannot depend upon a greater depth than two fathoms, until after she passes the rocky head on her right.

Immediately after we were anchored, I visited the late Sir William Fraser, who was then chief officer of

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the company's factory at Canton, and we both waited upon the Portuguese governor. He gave us a very ungracious reception, for which we could account in no other way than by supposing he felt annoyed at our uncereimonious entry of the Typa, without either pilot or permission; for the Portuguese at Macao, I understand, claim the Typa as their own, under the emperor's original grant of Macao to them for their services to China. Some Portuguese officers who came on board during my absence intimated that the ship would not be allowed to remain in the harbour. We heard nothing more of the matter, however, for several days, when a mandarin waited upon Sir William Fraser to inquire into the business of the man of war anchored in the Typa. About the same time several war junks, two of which had mandarin's flags, came down the river, beating their gongs, and anchored not far from us.

The mandarin received a satisfactory answer from Sir William Fraser, but some days after, the Hoppo finding the ship did not go away, addressed the following letter to the Hong merchants:—

“Wan, by imperial appointment, commissioner for foreign duties of the port of Canton, an officer of the imperial household, cavalry officer, &c. &c. &c. raised three steps, and recorded seventeen times,

“Hereby issues an order to the Hong merchants.

“The Macao *Wenguin* have reported, that on the 18th of the 13th moon, the pilot *Chinnang-Kwang* announced that on the 17th an English cruiser, *Peitche*,* arrived, and anchored at *Tausae*.

* The Chinese call their vessels by the names of the persons who command them.

"On the pilot's inquiring, the said captain affirmed that he came from his own country to cruise about other parts, but gales of wind forced him in here, where he would anchor awhile till the wind was fair, and then he would take his departure. I could only in obedience ascertain these circumstances, and also the following particulars :

"There are in the ship 120 scamen, 26 guns, 60 muskets 60 swords, 700 catties of powder, and 700 balls.

"This information is hereby communicated to higher authority.

"Coming before me, the Hoppo, I have inquired into the case, and since the said vessel is not a merchant ship nor convoy to merchantmen, it is inexpedient to allow pretexts to be made for her anchoring, and creating a disturbance. I, therefore, order her to be driven out of the port, and on the receipt of this order, let the merchants, in obedience thereto, enjoin the said nations, foreigners, to force her away. They will not be allowed to make glossing pretexts for her lingering about, and creating a disturbance which will implicate them in crime. Let the day of her departure be reported. Haste! Haste! a special order.

"Taou Kwang,

"7th year, 3d month, 24th day."

The Hong Merchants transmitted this bombastic letter of the Hoppo to the British factory with the following letter: but I must observe that the pilot was incorrect in saying that he derived his information from me, or that such a pretext for putting into the Typa was made.

"We respectfully inform you that on the 23d inst.

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we received an edict from the Hoppo concerning Peitche's cruiser anchoring at Tausae, and ordering her away. We send a copy of the document for your perusal, and beg your benevolent brethren of the committee to enforce the order on the said Peitche's cruiser to go away and return home. She is not allowed to linger about.

"We further beg you to inform us of her departure, that we may with evidence before us report the same to government.

"We write on purpose about this matter alone, and send our compliments, wishing you well in every respect.

"To the chiefs :	"We the merchants :
Mr. Fraser,	Wooshowchang, (Howqua's son),
Mr. Toone,	and others."
Mr. Plowden."	

The officers of the factory were aware of the ground upon which the Chinese founded their appeal, it being understood, I believe, that a vessel of war is not to enter the Chinese territory except for the purpose of protecting their own trading ships. At the same time they were sufficiently acquainted with the Chinese style of writing to know that this was only a common remonstrance, however strong the language used might appear, and they amicably arranged the business until near the time of our departure, when another letter arrived, to which they were able to give a satisfactory answer by our moving out of the Typa.

As our object was to procure the stores we required, and to proceed to sea as quickly as possible, our movements were not in any way influenced by this order of the Hoppo; and had it not been necessary to pro-

ceed to Canton to ascertain what was in the market there, we should have sailed before this dispatch reached its destination. It appeared that we had arrived at an unfortunate period, as there were very few naval stores in the place, and the Chinese were either so dilatory, or so indifferent about delivering some that had been bargained for in Canton, that we were obliged to sail without them. We, however, procured sufficient supplies to enable us to prosecute the voyage, and on the 30th of April took our departure.

During our stay at Macao we received the greatest attention from the officers of the Company's establishment, who politely gave us apartments in their houses, and in every way forwarded our wishes; and I am happy to join in the thanks expressed in my officers' journals for the hospitality we all experienced.

Soon after our arrival in the Typa, a febrile tendency was experienced throughout the ship, and before we sailed almost every officer and seaman on board was affected with a cold and cough, which in some cases threatened aneumonia; but the officers who resided in the town were free from complaint until they returned to the ship. The probable causes of this were the humid state of the air, the cold heavy dews at night, and the oppressively hot weather during the day, added to the currents of air which made their way between the islands into the Typa, where the atmosphere, penned in on all sides by hills, was otherwise excessively close. On this account I think the Typa very objectionable, and should recommend the anchorage off Cabreta Point in preference.

By a plan of the Typa, which we contrived to make during our visit, it appears that the depth of water is diminishing in the harbour, and that in some parts of

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the channel there is not more than ten feet and a half at low water spring tides; the rise of the tide at this time being seven feet one inch. The channel has shifted since the surveys of Captains King and Heywood, and new land-marks for entering, which I have given in my Nautical Remarks, are become necessary.

On leaving Macao we hoped that the S. W. monsoon would set in, and carry us expeditiously to the northward; instead of this, however, we were driven down upon the island of Leuconia in the parallel of $17^{\circ} 16' N.$ where we perceived the coast at a great distance. Here it fell calm, and the weather, which had been increasing in temperature since our departure from Macao, became oppressively hot, the thermometer sometimes standing at 89° in the shade, and the mean height for the day being $85^{\circ}, 7$ of Fahrenheit.

About this time we saw several splendid meteors, which left trains of sparks as they descended. On the 6th a parhelion was visible at $21^{\circ} 50'$ on the south side of the sun, when about 2° of altitude, and as we passed Orange Island we felt a sudden shock, accompanied by a momentary gust of wind which threatened the masts: the sky at this time was quite clear and cloudless.

On the 7th we saw the south Bashee Islands, celebrated as one of the resorts of the Buccaneers, and the day following made the Island of Botel Tobago Xima. While off the Bashee Islands we noticed a great rippling in the Balingtang Channel, and during the night we experienced so strong a current to the north west that instead of passing the Cumbrian Reef ten miles to the eastward, as we expected, on the following morning we found, greatly to our surprise, that we had been set on the opposite side of it, and much

closer than was consistent with security in a dark night. These currents render precaution very necessary; that by which we were affected ran N. 56° W. twenty-six miles during the night, or about two miles and a half per hour. We continued to feel this effect until we were a full day's sail from Botel Tobago Xima, and we were obliged in consequence to beat through the channel between that island and Formosa. In doing this we had an opportunity of examining the shores of Botel Tobago Xima, and of constructing a tolerably good plan of its northern and western sides, besides determining its position more accurately than had been done when we passed it on the former occasion.

The aspect of this part of the island is both agreeable and picturesque. The mountains are covered with wood and verdure to their summit, and are broken by valleys which open out upon plains sloping rather abruptly from the bases of the hills to the sea coast.

Almost every part of this plain is cultivated in the Chinese manner, being walled up in steep places, like the sides of Dane's Island in the Tigris. Groves and tufts of palm trees break the stiffness which this mode of cultivation would otherwise wear, and by their graceful foliage greatly improve its appearance. In a sandy bay on the north side of the island there is a large village consisting of low houses with pointed roofs.

There are several rocky points on the north-west side, and some detached rocks lie off the northern extremity, which are remarkable for their spire-like form. The coast is rocky in almost every part, and probably dangerous to land upon, as these needle rocks are seen in many parts of the island. With the exception, however, of those off the north extreme, they are

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attached to the island by very low land, but the shore under water often assumes the character of that which is above, in which case a vigilant look out for rocks would here be necessary in rowing along the coast. At three miles distance from the land we had no bottom with 120 fathoms of line.

After beating two days off Tobago Xima without being able to make much progress against the current, which on the average ran a mile and a quarter per hour, on the 10th a change of wind enabled us to steer our course. We took our departure, from Sam-sanna, an island to the northward of Tobago Xima, situated, by our observations, nearly in latitude $22^{\circ} 42'$ N., and exactly $8'$ west of the eastern extreme of the Little Tobago Xima.

I intended, on leaving Macao, to explore the sea to the eastward of Loo Choo, particularly that part of it where the Yslas Arzobispo, the Malabrigos, and the Bonin Islands, are laid down in various charts. It was, however, no easy matter to reach thus far, and what with light, variable winds, and contrary currents, our progress was extremely slow, so that on the 15th, we found ourselves not far from the Great Loo Choo with a contrary wind.

About this time it was discovered that the water we had taken on board at Macao was extremely bad, owing to the neglect of the *comprador* in filling the casks, and as I had no object in reaching Kamschatka for nearly two months, I determined upon proceeding to Napakiang in Loo Choo. I was further induced to do this, on account of the longitude of the places we might meet between it and Petropaulski. We therefore bore away to the westward, and in the evening saw the island bearing W. by N. ten leagues distant.

The following morning we were close to the reefs by which the Island of Loo Choo is nearly surrounded, and steered along them to the southward, remarking as we passed the excellent harbours which appear to be formed within them; and planning a chart of them as correctly as our distance from the shore, and other circumstances, would permit. The sea rolled furiously over the reefs, which presented a most formidable barrier to encounter in a dark night, but we were glad to find that this danger was lessened by soundings being found outside them, in a depth of water which would enable a vessel to anchor in case of necessity. This depth gradually increased to seventy-five fathoms, at four miles distance from the reefs.

Daylight had scarcely dawned the following morning before several fishermen paddled towards the ship, and fastened their canoes alongside. They had taken several dolphins, which they exchanged for a very small quantity of tobacco, tying the fish to a rope, and without the least mistrust contentedly waiting until the price of it was handed to them. Their canoes were capable of holding five or six persons each, but there were seldom more than two or three in any of them. They were hollowed out of large trees, and rather clumsily made; but it was evident, from the neat manner in which the inside was fitted with bambo gratings, that the constructors of them were capable of much better workmanship. They had no outriggers, and their sail was made of grass.

After remaining alongside some time they ventured upon deck, and saluted us in the Japanese manner, by bowing their heads very low, and clasping their hands to their breasts. They appeared to be a very diminutive race, and were nearly all bow-legged, from the

habitual confinement of their canoes. Many of them were naked, with the exception of a maro ; but those who were clothed wore coarse cotton gowns with large sleeves ; and almost every person had a pipe, tobacco-pouch, and match fastened to his girdle. As the Loo-Chooans are reputed to be descended from the Japanese, we naturally sought in the countenances of these people features characteristic of that nation, but found that they bore a much nearer resemblance to those of the Malay tribe. Their manners, however, were very different from those of the Malays ; and they were marked with a degree of courtesy and good breeding, which we certainly should not have expected to find in persons of their humble occupation, and inferior condition in life.

Having obtained permission to look over the ship, they examined attentively those things which interested them, and when their curiosity was satisfied they made a low bow, and returned to their canoes, leaving us well pleased with their manners. About this time several dolphins swam round the ship, and the fishermen threw over their lines, and met with tolerable success. Our lines had for some time been towing overboard with various devices of flying-fish, pieces of cloth, &c. attached to them, and springing from the water with the rise of the ship, in imitation of the action of the flying-fish, but without any success, and we were happy to take a lesson from our new acquaintances. Their lines were similar to ours, but their snoods were made of wire, and their hooks, when probably baited, were quite concealed in the body of a flying-fish which had one side of the flesh cut away. Several lines thus prepared were allowed

to run out to the length of about ten fathoms, and when the dolphins were near, speed was given to the canoe, that the bait might have the appearance of a fish endeavouring to escape pursuit. In this manner several were taken at no great distance from us. If the fish happened to be large, the line was carefully drawn in, and they were harpooned with an instrument which every canoe carried for the purpose.

We stood towards Loo Choo, accompanied by several of these canoes, until within a few miles of the land, when fearing to be seen from the shore, they quitted us, first making signs for us to go round to the other side of the island.

About sunset the wind left us close off the south extremity of the Great Loo Choo; and all the next day it was so light that the boats were obliged to tow the ship toward the harbour. This slow progress would have been far less tedious had we been able to see distinctly the country we were passing, and the villages situated in the bays at the back of the reefs; but this prospect was unfortunately destroyed by a dense haze which rendered every distant object indistinct, and tantalized our expectations by the variety of fallacious appearances it created. Our course, until four o'clock in the afternoon, was along the western side of Loo Choo, between it and a reef lying about midway between this western shore and the Kirrama islands. About that time we arrived off Abbey Point, and were entering the harbour of Napakiang, guided by our charts, when we were obliged to drop the anchor to avoid striking upon a coral bank, with only seven feet water on its shallowest part. Upon examination we found that this bank, which had hitherto escaped

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observation, had a deep channel on both sides of it; we therefore weighed, and steered through the southern passage. It afterwards became necessary to beat up to the anchorage, in doing which we discovered another rock, and had a still narrower escape*. We reached our destination a little before sunset, and then came to an anchor off the town of Napa.

* The position of these rocks are given in the plan of Napa-kiang, which we constructed during our stay here.

CHAPTER V.

Appearance of Loo Choo—Visits of the Natives—Deputation—Permission given to land—Excursions into the Country—Discover Money in Circulation—Mandarin visits the Ship—Departure of a Junk with Tribute—Visit of the Mandarin returned—Further Intercourse—Transactions of the Ship—Departure—Observations upon the Religion, Manners, and Customs of the People; upon their Laws, Money, Weapons, and Punishments; their Manufactures and Trade—Remarks upon the Country, its Productions and Climate—Directions for entering the Port—Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Loo Choo.

Loo Choo from the anchorage presents a very agreeable landscape to the admirers of quiet scenery. The land rises with a gradual ascent from the sea-coast to something more than five hundred feet in height, and in almost every part exhibits a delightful picture of industry. The appearance of formality is just removed by a due proportion of hill and valley, and the monotonous aspect of continued cultivation is broken by rugged ground, neatly executed cemeteries, or by knots of trees which mingle the foliage of the temperate zone with the more graceful vegetation of the tropics. The most remarkable feature is a hill named Sumar, the summit of which commands a coup-d'œil of all the country round it, including the shores of both sides of the island. Upon this hill there is a town apparently of greater importance than Napa, called Shui or Shoodi,

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supposed both by Captain Hall and ourselves to be the capital of Loo Choo. With our telescopes it appeared to be surrounded by a wall, and it had several flags (*hattas*) flying upon tall staffs. The houses were numerous, but the view was so obstructed by masses of foliage which grew about these delightful residences that we could form no estimate of their numbers. Upon a rise, a little above the site of the other houses of the town, there was a large building half obscured by evergreen trees, which some of us imagined might be the residence of the king, who had chosen so elevated a situation, in order to enjoy the luxury of breathing a high current of air in a country occasionally exposed to excessive heat. A rich carpet of verdure sloping to the westward connects this part of the landscape with the bustling town of Napa, or Napa-ching,* of which we could see little more than a number of red roofs turned up at the corners in Chinese style, or at most only a few feet down the chunammed walls which support them, in consequence of a high wall surrounding the town. To the right of the town a long stone causeway stretches out into the sea, with arches to allow the water a free access to the harbour at the back of it, and terminates in a large square building with loop-holes. To this causeway sixteen junks of the largest class were secured: some had prows formed in imitation of animals, and

* Napa is decidedly the name of the village, and the words *ching* and *keang*, which are occasionally subjoined, in all probability are intended to specify whether it is the town, or the river near it, that is intended; *ching* being in Chinese language a town, and *keang* a river: and though these substantives are differently expressed in Loo Choo, yet when thus combined, the Chinese expression may probably be used.

gorgeously coloured; others presented their sides and sterns highly painted and gilt; while, from among their clumsy cordage aloft, and from a number of staffs placed erect along the stern, were suspended variously shaped flags, some indicating, by their colour, or the armorial bearing upon them, the mandarin captain of the junk; some the tributary flag of the celestial empire, and others the ensign of Japan. Many of these were curiously arranged and stamped in gilt characters on silken grounds.

To the left of Napa is the public cemetery, where the horse-shoe sepulchres rise in galleries, and on a sunny day dazzle the eye with the brightness of their chiselled surfaces, and beyond them again, to the northward, is the humble village of Potsong, with its os-house and bridge.

The bay in every part is circumscribed by a broad coral ledge, which to seaward is generally occupied by fishermen raising and depressing nets extended upon long bamboo poles, similar to those of the Chinese. Beyond these reefs are the coral islands of Tzee, the more distant islands of Kirrama, and far, in a northern direction, the cone of Ee-goo-sacoo, said to be covered with houses rising in a spiral direction up its sides. The whole when viewed on a fine day, and when the harbour is enlivened by boats passing to and fro, with well-dressed people chanting their harmonious boat-song, has a pleasing effect which it is difficult to describe.

Before our sails were furled the ship was surrounded by boats of various descriptions, and the tops of the houses on shore, the walls, and the forts at the entrance of the harbour, were crowded with spectators watching our operations. Several persons came on

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board, and with a respectful salutation begged permission to be allowed to look over the ship; but they were interrupted by the approach of a boat with an officer, apparently of rank, whom they endeavoured to avoid. His person underwent a severe scrutiny through our telescopes long before he came on board, and we could distinctly see that he had not the *katchee-matchee*, or low cylindrical cap worn by persons of rank in Loo Choo, in the same manner as the cap and buttons are by the mandarins of China, yet he was evidently a man of consequence, from the respect paid him by the natives in making room for his approach. When he came along side he was invited upon deck, but for some time he stood minutely examining the outside of the ship, counting the number of port-holes, and apparently forming an estimate of her length and height. At last he ascended the side and made a low salutation on the quarter deck, bowing his head in a respectful manner, and clasping his hands to his breast, as before described. Finding we could not understand his language he waved his hand to seaward, in intimation that we should not be allowed to remain in the port. He then looked down upon the gun deck, and pursued his examination of the inside of the ship with the same rigour that he had bestowed upon the exterior, making notes of what he saw. When he was satisfied, he expressed his thanks for our civility and returned to the shore.

Soon after his departure, several well-dressed persons, with boys holding parasols over them, were observed coming off to us: they were seated in Chinese style upon mats spread in the bottom of the boat, over neat ratan platforms, and were propelled by several persons working at a large oar as a scull, keeping time

to a song, of which the chorus was *ya! ha mashawdy*, or words very similar.

They were elegantly dressed in gowns made of grass cloth, of which the texture was fine and open, and being a little stiff, formed a most agreeable attire in a country which was naturally warm. To prevent this robe being inconvenient while walking, it was bound at the waist with a girdle, linen or silk, according to the rank of the wearer. They had sandals made of straw, and one of them, whose name was An-yah, had linen stockings. None of them had any covering to the head, but wore their hair turned back from all parts, and secured in a knot upon the crown, with two silver pins, *kamesashe* and *oomesashe*, the former of which had an ornamental head resembling a flower with six petals; the other was very similar to a small marrow-spoon. Each person had a square silken tobacco-pouch embroidered with gold and silver, and a short pipe of which the bowl and mouth-piece were also silver, and one who was secretary to An-yah carried a massy silver case of writing materials.

They saluted us very respectfully, first in the manner of their own country and then of ours, and An-yah, by means of a vocabulary which he brought in his pocket, made several inquiries, which occasioned the following dialogue. "What for come Doo Choo?" "To get some water, refit the ship, and recover the sick." "How many mans?" "A hundred." "Plenty mans! you got hundred ten-mans?" "No, a hundred." "Plenty guns?" "Yes." "How many?" "Twenty-six." "Plenty mans, plenty guns!"

* This word is pronounced Doo-Choo by the Natives, but as it is known in England as Loo Choo, I shall preserve that orthography.

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What things ship got?" "Nothing, ping-chuen*." "No got nothing?" "No, nothing." "Plenty mans, plenty guns, no got nothing!" and turning to his secretary he entered into a conversation with him, in which it appeared almost evident that he did not wholly credit our statement. It was, however, taken down in writing by the secretary.

In order more fully to explain myself I showed them some sentences written in Chinese, which informed them that the ship was an English man-of-war; that the king of England was a friend of the emperor of China; and that ships of our nation had frequent intercourse with the town of Canton. The secretary, who read these sentences aloud, immediately wrote in elegant Chinese characters† "What is your reason for coming to this place? How many men are there on board your ship?" and was both sorry and surprised to find I could not understand what he had written. Indeed he appeared to doubt my sincerity, particularly after I had shown him the next sentence, which happened to be an answer to his question, but which naturally followed the first, stating that we were in want of water and fresh provisions, and that the sick required to be landed to recover their health, and concluding by specifying our desire to be allowed to pay for every thing that was supplied to us. An-yah received this information with satisfaction, and replied, "I understand mandarin; Doo Chooman no want pay."

These sentences were kindly furnished me by Dr.

* A man-of-war in China is called ping-chuen or soldier-ship.

† This, as well as several other papers written by the Loo Chooans, was afterwards interpreted by Mr. Hultmann of the Asiatic Society, to whom, and also to Sir William Ouseley, I beg permission to be allowed to express my thanks.

Morrison, at my own request, in case circumstances should render it necessary to put into Loo Choo, and they were written in Chinese characters, which Dr. Morrison was well aware would be quite intelligible to the literati of Loo Choo, who express themselves in the same character as the Chinese, though their language is totally different. They contained many interesting inquiries, and afforded the means of asking questions without the chance of misinterpretation. To several of them the negative or affirmative was all that was required, and these are expressions understood by most people. It happened, however, that An-yah had learned enough of the English language to say something more than these monosyllables; so that what with his proficiency, and the help of these sentences, besides a dictionary, vocabulary, and dialogues in both languages, which Dr. Morrison had also very generously given me, we had the means of gaining a good deal of information; more, probably, than we could have done through an indifferent interpreter. As, however, opinions vary concerning the written character of China being in general use in Loo Choo, I shall hereafter offer some observations on the subject.

After our visitors had satisfied their curiosity concerning our object in putting into Loo Choo, they sat down to dinner, which was ready, and with much address and good-humour showed us they had learned to chin-chin, or drink healths in the English manner.

I was very anxious to find out who my guest with the vocabulary was, as it at first occurred to me that it might be Mádera, of whom Captain Hall so frequently speaks in his delightful publication on Loo Choo; but then he did not seem to be so well ac-

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quainted with the English language as *Madda* appears to have been, and, besides, he must have been much younger. His objection to answering our inquiries on this head, and disclaiming all knowledge of any vessel having ever been at Loo Choo before, put it out of my power at first to inform myself on the point, and had not his own curiosity overcome his prudence, it would perhaps have long remained a secret.

The manner in which the discovery was made is curious: after the *sackee** had gone round a few times, An-yah inquired if "ship got womans?" and being answered in the negative, he replied, somewhat surprised, "other ships got womans, handsome womans!" alluding to Mrs. Loy, with whom the Loo Chooans were so much captivated that, it is thought, she had an offer from a person of high authority in the island. I then taxed him with having a knowledge of other ships, and when he found he had betrayed himself, he laughed heartily, and acknowledged that he recollected the visit of the *Aleeste* and *Lyra*, which he correctly said was 144 moons ago, and that he was the linguist An-yah whom Captain Hall calls An-yah *Toonshoonfa*, but he disclaimed all right to this appendage to his name. Having got thus far, I inquired after almost all the characters which so much interested me in reading the publication alluded to above; but they either prevaricated, or disclaimed all recollection of the persons alluded to, and I found it extremely difficult to get a word in answer.

At last one of them said *Ookome* was the other end of the island, and another immediately added that

* The Loo Choo name for wind or spirit.

he had gone to Peking. A third stated that Madera was very ill at the capital, while it was asserted by others that he was dead, or that he was banished to Pātanjān*. They all maintained they had never any knowledge of such persons as Shangfwee, and Shang-Pungfwee, the names given to the king and prince of Loo Choo in Captain Hall's publication. From this conversation it was very evident that they knew perfectly well who Ookoma and Madera were, but did not intend to give us any correct information about them.

I was a little vexed to find that neither An-yah nor Isaacha-Sandoo, who was also of our party, and is mentioned by Captain Hall, made the slightest inquiry after any of the officers of the *Alceste* or *Lyra*, by whom they had been treated in the most friendly manner, and for whom it might have been inferred, from the tears that were shed by the Loo Chooans on the departure of those ships, that the greatest regard had been entertained. The only time they alluded to them was when Mrs. Loy recurred to their imagination.

When they had drank enough sackee they rose to take their leave, and, emptying the contents of the fruit dishes into their pockets, retired in great good humour; but An-yah, not quite satisfied about the number of men on board the ship, probably imagining, from the number he saw aloft, that there were many more, again asked the question, "how many men?" and on being answered, as before, replied, "not get hundred one?" which he repeated a second time;

* An island situated near Ty-ping-chang upon which Captain Broughton was wrecked.

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and having satisfied himself on this knotty point shook us by the hand and said, "well, I speakee mandarin, to-morrow come water. Doo Chooman no want pay; fife day you go away." "That," I returned, "will depend upon the health of the sick, who must be allowed to land and walk about." I then desired him to tell the mandarin, that to-morrow I should go on shore and wait on him in his own house. An-yah, alarmed lest the threat might be carried into execution, hastily exclaimed, "No, no, I speakee mandarin, mans go shore, walk about, no go house—no go house." Thus by threatening to do more than was intended, we obtained a tacit consent to that which we wanted without much chance of giving offence. Unwilling to give him any further uneasiness, I permitted him to go, requesting he would deliver to the mandarin an invitation to visit the ship, which he promised to do; and seating himself and his companions on the mat in the boat, he sculled on shore to the musical chorus of "ya-ha-me-shawdy."

Our decks were by this time crowded with spectators, who had been coming off in boat loads. The place did not appear to afford many of these conveyances, and they had to go backwards and forwards between the ship and the shore a great many times, always singing their boat songs as they sculled themselves along. Our visitors had paid us the compliment of putting on their best attire, all of which was made of the grass-cloth in the manner before described; the colours were various, but mostly blue.

The utmost good breeding was manifested by every one of them, not only in scrupulously making their bow when they entered and quitted the ship, but in not allowing their curiosity to carry them beyond

what they thought perfectly correct. They all seemed determined to be pleased, and were apparently quite happy in being permitted to indulge their curiosity, which was very great, and bespoke them a people extremely desirous of information. It was amusing to observe which objects attracted the particular attention of each individual, which we thought always accorded with the trade or profession of the party; for, as we had at different times all the population of Napa on board the ship, we must have had persons of all occupations. We observed two of these people, after having gratified their curiosity about the deck, seat themselves in their canoes, and commence drawing a picture of the ship—one selected a broadside view, and the other a quarter, each setting at defiance all rules of perspective. The artist on the quarter had of course the most difficult task, and drew the stern as a continuation of the broadside, by which it appeared like an enormous quarter gallery to the ship. That they might make an exact representation, they took their station at the distance of twenty feet from the side of the ship, and commenced their drawing upon a roll of paper about six feet in length, upon which they portrayed not only the outline of the ship, but the heads of all the bolts, the buttends of the planks, and before it was finished, no doubt, intended to trace even the grain of the wood. Whatever merit might have been attached to the drawing, the artists were entitled to commendation for their perseverance, which overcame every difficulty; and they had some few to contend with. A little before sunset they rolled up their paper and paddled on shore.

We were scarcely on the following morning before our ears were assailed by the choruses of the boatmen

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bringing off new visitors to the ship, who continued to pass between her and the shore the whole of the day, carrying a fresh set at every trip, so that the harbour, if possible, presented a more lively scene than it did the day before; on shore the walls and housetops were occupied by groups who sat for hours looking towards the anchorage. Our visitors as before were well dressed and well bred people, and extremely apprehensive of giving offence or even of incommoding us.

The mandarin, however, fearful we might experience some annoyance from having so many people on board without any person to control them, sent off a trusty little man with a disproportionably long bamboo cane to keep order, and who was in consequence named Master-at Arms by the seamen. This little man took care that the importance of his office should not escape notice, and occasionally exercised his baton of authority, in a manner which seemed to me much too severe for the occasion; and sometimes even drew forth severe though ineffectual animadversions from his peaceable countrymen: but as I thought it better that he should manage matters in his own way, I did not allow him to be interfered with.

Among the earliest of our visitors were An-yah, Shtafacob, and Shaypon; three intelligent, good-natured persons, who, I have no doubt, were deputed to watch our movements. They were the bearers of a present of a pig and some vegetables. As An-yah had promised, several boats commenced supplying the ship with water, bringing it off in large tubs.* In

* This water proved to be bad, for though it had no very unpleasant taste, it was found, upon being analysed, to contain in solution a large proportion of magnesia and some lime, &c.

reply to my request that the officers and invalids might be allowed to walk about on shore, An-yah said he had spoken to the mandarin, who had sent off a Loo Choo physician to administer to the health of our invalids, and in fact who would see whether our statement concerning them was correct or not. A consequential little man, with a huge pair of Chinese spectacles, being introduced as the Esculapius in question, begged to be permitted to visit the sick and to feel their pulse. The surgeon says—"he gravely placed his finger upon the radial artery first of one wrist and then of the other, and returned to the first again, making considerable pressure for upwards of a minute upon each. To one patient affected with a chronic liver complaint, and in whom the pulsations are very different in the two arms, in consequence of an irregular distribution of the arteries, he recommended medicine: of another person affected with dyspepsia whose pulse was natural, he said nothing; no other part of the animal economy attracted his notice. He appeared to be acquainted with quicksilver and moxa, but not with the odour of cinnamon."

After this careful examination he returned to the cabin and wrote in clumsy Chinese characters that one of the patients had an affection of the stomach and required medicine; and inquired of another if he were costive. This report, which we did not understand at the time, was satisfactory to An-yah, who immediately gave us permission to land at Potsoong and Abbey Point, but with an understanding that we were not to go into the town. He then produced a list of

stances which should be borne in mind by vessels obtaining a supply at this place.

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inquiries, which he had been ordered to make, such as the dimensions of the ship, the time we had been from England, Canton, &c., and lastly, what weather we had experienced, as he said Loo Choo had been visited by a violent typhoon in April, which unroofed the houses and did much other mischief.

The permission to land was immediately taken advantage of by several of the officers, who went to Potsoong, and were received in a very polite manner by a great concourse of spectators, who conducted them to the house in which Sir Murray Maxwell and his officers had been entertained; and regaled them with (*tsha*) tea, and (*almasa*) sweet cakes. Some of the party, instead of entering the house, strolled inland to botanize, and to look at the country; but they had not proceeded far before two or three persons ran towards them, and intimated that their company was expected at the house where the other officers were assembled drinking tea, and were waiting for them. This was the Loo Choo polite manner of preventing their proceeding inland, or of making themselves acquainted with the country; and thus, whenever any parties landed afterwards, they were shown to this house, where there was always tea ready prepared, and kept boiling in a kettle, inclosed in a neatly japanned wooden case; there were also trays of charcoal for lighting pipes, and a box to receive the ashes when they were done with: the natives endeavoured, by every possible means, to engage their attention at this place, by putting a thousand inquiries, offering pipes, and pressing them to smoke, and to drink *tsha*, which was always poured out in small cups, and drunk without milk or sugar, which, as it was quite new, and not of the best kind,

or much improved by being kept boiling, had a very insipid taste; it, however, served to quench the thirst on a hot day.

On no account would these people receive any present, nor would they sell any of their property in public; but if they thought we desired to possess any thing they could spare, they would offer it for our acceptance. I one day presented to a person who had been very civil, showing me over his grounds, which he at first refused, and when I insisted on his taking it, and placed it in his pocket, he gave it me back again; but finding I would not receive it, he threw it after me; and it was not until after I had returned it in the same manner that he was prevailed upon to accept it. Upon doing this, he first exhibited it to the crowd around him, and then thanked me for it. On another occasion one of the officers offered a man, named Komee, two Spanish dollars for his pouch, which he declined, and could not be prevailed upon to accept; but with perfect good-breeding he presented to him the object he desired, and insisted upon his keeping it. In private, however, they had less objection to presents, and even asked for several things; small bargains were also effected.

From this time we visited the shore daily, and made many excursions into the country, confining our rambles within reasonable limits, to avoid giving uneasiness to our guides, who were very much distressed whenever we strayed beyond what they considered strictly within the limits prescribed by their instructions. We met many peasants and other persons in these excursions, all of whom seemed eager to show us attention, and with whom there was less reserve and less disinclination to our proceedings, than

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was manifested by our guides from Napa, who were evidently acting under much constraint.

Lieutenant Wainwright, who, since leaving San Francisco, had been an invalid, having suffered severely from a disease of the heart, was provided with a horse by the natives, and permitted to ride every day for his health. He was attended by a guide, and received much kindness and attention from the humane Loo Chooans, who, though they often gave us many reasons to suspect the sincerity of their intentions, were, by their acts, certainly entitled to our gratitude.

On the 19th we received a bullock weighing 100lbs., five pigs, a bag of sweet potatoes, some firewood, and some more water. Several of the officers landed and walked into the country, attended by the natives, who endeavoured by every species of cunning, and even by falsehood, to prevent their going near the villages, or penetrating far inland. We had again a ship full of visitors, and the two artists were employed the greater part of the day in completing their drawing, which they refused to part with. After the strangers were gone on shore, a thermometer that was kept upon deck for the purpose of registering the temperature was missed, and the natural conclusion was, that it had attracted the attention of some of our visitors, who, it must be remembered, were of all classes.

It was a curious coincidence, but I believe perfectly accidental, that the day after the instrument was missed not a single person came off to the ship, except those employed in bringing water: when An-yar came on board the next morning I made our loss known to him; he was much distressed at hearing of it, and said he would make every inquiry about it on shore and added—" plenty Doo, Cheo man; teef, plenty

mans' teef," he also advised us at the same time to look well after our watches, handkerchiefs, and particularly any of the instruments that were taken on shore. These precautions I am almost certain were unnecessary, and I am inclined to believe that An-yah painted his countrymen in such odious colours to make us take proper precautions. Though the Loo Chooans are extremely curious, and highly prize such an instrument, yet the theft is not in character with the rest of their conduct, and however appearances may condemn them, I am inclined to believe them guiltless of taking the thermometer, which, probably, was left in the tub used for drawing up sea-water to try its temperature, and was accidentally thrown overboard. And yet in so large a body of people there must naturally be some who are bad; however, we never heard any thing more of the thermometer.

A little before noon I landed to observe the meridional altitude, and met Shtafacoo and several other Loo Choo gentlemen, who were attended by little boys holding parasols over them, and carrying small japanned cases containing smoked and dried meats, small cups of preserves, and boiled rice, sackee, a spirit resembling the samchew of China, and fresh water. They ordered mats to be spread for us, and we made a good luncheon of the many nice things in their boxes. We afterwards crossed over to Potsoong, where we were met by an elderly gentleman, who made a very low obeisance, and pressed us to come into the house in which the officers of Sir Murray Maxwell's squadron and of the *Blossom* had been entertained, and which appeared to be set apart entirely for our use. It was situated in a square area laid out in lawn and flower beds, and enclosed by a high wall; the

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house was built of wood, and roofed with tiles in the Chinese style; the floor was raised about two feet from the ground, and the rooms, though small, were capable of being thrown into one by means of shifting panels. To the right of the house there was a large brass bell, which was struck with a wooden club, and had a very melodious tone; at the further end of the garden was a jos house, a place of worship, which, as it has been described by Captain Hall, I shall notice only by the mention of a screen that was let down before the three small images on the inside. It was made of canvas stretched upon a frame forming two panels, in each of which was a figure; one representing a mandarin with a yellow robe and hatchee-matchee seated upon a bow and quiver of arrows, and a broad sword; the other, a commoner of Loo Choo dressed in blue, and likewise seated upon a bow and arrows. The weapons immediately attracted my attention, and I inquired of my attendant what they were, for the purpose of learning whether he was acquainted with the use of them, and found that he was by putting his arms in the position of drawing the bow, and by pointing to the sword and striking his arm forward; but he implied that that weapon belonged to the mandarins only. A great many pieces of paper were suspended on each side of the picture, some of them marked with Chinese characters, and were, no doubt, invocations to the deities for some temporary benefits, as all the sects are in the habit of writing inscriptions of this kind, and depositing them in the jos houses, or placing them upon stones, of which there are several in Loo Choo under the name of Karoo. Under a veranda which surrounded the temple there were several wooden forms strewed with

lowers, and upon the middle one a drum was suspended by thongs in a handsome japanned stand.

A building in front of this jos house, mentioned by Captain Hall, has been rebuilt, but was not quite finished at the time of our visit: though so near to the temple the panels were scrawled over with groups of figures, some of which were very inappropriate to such a situation.

After we had partaken of tea in the dwelling-house, we determined upon a walk in the interior, much to the discomfiture of the old gentleman, who used every means he could think of to induce us to desist, and produced pipes, sweet cakes, tcha, and masa chorassa, preserves with which they tempted us whenever they feared our walk would be directed inland. Finding he could not detain us, he determined to be our companion, and endeavoured to confine us to the beach by praising the freshness of the breeze, saying how hot we should find it inland, and what bad paths there were in that direction, every word of which proved to be false, as we found the roads very good, and by gaining elevated situations we enjoyed more of the breeze.

We passed some tombs excavated in the cliffs, and in one that was broken down we discovered a corpse lying upon its back, half decayed and covered over with a mat; a jar of tea and some cups were placed by it, that the spirit might drink; but there was nothing to eat, and our guide informed us that it was customary to place tea only by the side of the bodies, and that food was never left there. He turned us away from this shocking spectacle as much disgusted as ourselves, and seemed sorry that we had hit upon it. This discovery seems to strengthen some information which

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I afterwards received concerning the manner in which the dead were disposed of, namely, that the flesh is allowed to decay before the bones are placed in jars in the cemetery.

From this place we ascended a hill covered with tombs, which were excavated in the rock in a manner very similar to those near Canton; they had almost all of them niches, wherein bowls of tea, lamps, and cups were placed, and appeared to be kept in good order, as they had a cleanly and decent appearance. We wandered among these some time, without finding any open, but at last we came to one of an inferior kind, in which the door was loosely placed before the entrance; it consisted of a large slab of red pottery, pierced with a number of holes about an inch in diameter. Having removed this, we saw about twenty jars of fine red pottery covered with lids shaped like mandarins' caps; the size of the jars was about twenty inches deep by eight in the broadest part, which was one-third of the way from the mouth; they were also perforated in several places with holes an inch in diameter. We did not remove any of the lids, as it seemed to give offence, but were told that the jars contained the bones of the dead after the flesh had been stripped off or had decayed. On putting the question whether they burned the bones or the flesh off them, it was answered by surprise, and an inquiry whether we did so in England? Therefore, unless the custom has altered, the account of Supoa Quang, a learned Chinese, who visited Loo Choo in 1719, is incorrect.

After visiting the grave of one of the crew of the *Alceste* who was buried in this island, we were satisfied with this tour of the tombs, and turned off inland

very much to the discomfiture of our guide, and in spite of a great many remonstrances. He was a silent companion until we came to a path that went back to the beach, and there, politely stepping forward, said it was the one that would take us where we wished to go, and, touching our elbow, he would have turned us into it had he not thought it rude; but we pursued our original path, followed by a crowd of persons, who seemed to enjoy the discomfiture of our companion, and laughed heartily as we came to every track that crossed ours, each of which our officious and polite conductor would have persuaded us to take, as being far more agreeable than the other, and as leading to our destination. The mirth of the crowd pretty well satisfied us there was no great danger in advancing, and we went on further than we should otherwise have done; but in a little time they began to drop off, and we were at last left alone with the guide, who really became alarmed. We had reached the foot of the hill on which the capital is situated, and were ascending to have a near view of the houses, when he threw himself on his knees in evident alarm, bowed his head to the dust, and embracing our knees implored us to desist, assuring us that the mandarin would take his head off if we did not. Some of the officers who went in another direction were told by their guide that he would get bamboozed if they did not turn back, which is more probable than that the heavy penalty apprehended by our companion should be attached to so light a crime.

To quiet the irritation of the poor old man, who trembled violently, we ascended a hill some distance to the left, which commanded an extensive view of the country, and from whence we could survey the

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capital with our telescopes. The country was highly cultivated, and the grounds irrigated with Chinese ingenuity and perseverance by small streams of water passing through them, keeping such as were planted with rice thoroughly wet. We noticed in our walk sweet potatoes, millet, wheat, Indian corn, potatoes, cabbages, barley, sugar-cane, pease, tea shrubs, rice, taro, tobacco, capsicums, cucumbers, cocoa-nuts, carrots, lettuces, onions, plantains, pomegranates, and oranges; but amidst this display of agricultural industry there were several eminences topped with pine trees, on which the hand of the farmer might have been advantageously employed, but which were allowed to lie waste, and to be overrun with a rank grass. Such places, however, being usually the repositories of the dead, it may have been thought indecorous by the considerate Loo Chooans to disturb the ground near it with a hoe. These eminences, like the basis of the island, being formed of a very porous calcareous rock, are peculiarly adapted to the excavation of tombs, and the natives have taken advantage of them to dispose of their dead in them. The accompanying view from Mr. Smyth's sketch will convey the best idea of what they are like.

The capital, for such I am disposed to call the town on the hill, notwithstanding the denial of several of the natives, was surrounded by a white wall, within which there were a great many houses, and two strong buildings like forts; with, as already mentioned, several small masts with gaffs, bearing flags of different colours. This space was thickly interspersed with trees, whence we conjectured the houses were furnished with gardens. There seemed to be very few people moving about the island, even between the upper and lower towns, with which it would be sup-

posed there must necessarily be much intercourse. We rested awhile on the eminence that afforded this agreeable view of a country but very little known, and were joined by several persons whom fear or indolence had prevented keeping pace with us. Our guide now lighted his pipe and forgot his apprehension in the consoling fumes of tobacco, while some of the party amused themselves with viewing the capital through a telescope, each preventing the other having a quiet view by their anxiety to obtain a peep. Our clothes in the meantime were undergoing an examination from the remainder of the party, who, after looking closely into the texture of the material, exclaimed—choorassa, choorassa! (beautiful).

While we sat here a Japanese junk bore down from the northward, and according to the information of those around us, which afterwards proved to be correct, she came from an island called Ooshimar, to the northward of Loo Choo, and was laden with rice, hemp, and other articles. Her sails and rigging resembled the drawing of the Japanese junks in La Perouse's voyage. She passed close to the Blossom at anchor, and from the report of the officers her crew had their heads shayed in the fashion of the Japanese. Her arrival excited general interest, brought all the inhabitants to the housetops, and a number of canoes crowded round her before she reached the inner harbour, where she was towed and secured alongside several other junks bearing the same flag.

On our return we passed through a village consisting of a number of square inclosures of low stone walls, separated by lanes planted on both sides, and so overgrown with bamboo and ratans that we could neither see the houses nor the sky; several handsome

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creepers entwined themselves round the stems of these canes, and a variety of flowers, some of which were new to us, exhaled a delicious fragrance from the gardens which bordered these delightful avenues. A more comfortable residence in a hot climate could not well be imagined, but I am sorry to say that the fascination was greatly lessened by the very filthy state of the dwellings and of the people who occupied them. In one of these huts there was a spinning-wheel and a hand-loom, with some grass-cloth of the country in a forward state of preparation for use.

Several little children accompanied us through these delightfully cool lanes, running before us catching butterflies, or picking flowers, which they presented with a low Chinese salam, and then ran away laughing at the idea of our valuing such things. We afterwards crossed two high roads, on which there were several horses and jack-asses bearing panniers; but we saw no carriages, nor the marks of any wheels, nor do I believe there are any in Loo Choo. The horses, like the natives, were very diminutive, and showed very little blood. Several peasants, both male and female, were working in the plantations as we passed through them, neither of whom endeavoured to avoid us, and we had an opportunity of beholding, for the first time, several Loo Choo women. They were of the labouring class, and of course not the most attractive specimens of their sex; but they were equally good-looking with the men, and a few of them were pretty, notwithstanding the assertion of An-yah, that "Loo Choo womans ugly womans." There was nothing remarkable about them to need particular description; they were clothed much in the same manner as the men, and generally in the same colours;

their hair, however, was differently dressed, being loosely fastened at the side of the head by a pin resembling a salt-spoon with a very long handle. Their feet were of the natural size, and without shoes or sandals. We noticed some who were tattooed on the back of the hand, which we were told was done to distinguish all those who were married; An-yah said the custom prevailed equally in high life.

I subjoin a sketch of a male and female of Loo Choo, drawn by Mr. Smyth, from which the reader may form a tolerably correct judgment of the general appearance of these people, though Komee was by no means the handsomest of his countrymen.

Upon the high road we met a man with a bundle of firewood, on his way to town; and were much pleased at the confirmation of a fact, which we had no doubt existed, though the natives took every precaution to conceal it. None of our visitors to the ship had as yet shown us any money, and An-yah, if I understood him correctly, said there was none in Loo Choo; our meeting with this peasant, however, disclosed the truth, as he had a string of cash* (small Chinese money) suspended to his girdle, in the manner adopted by the Chinese. I examined the string with much interest, and offered to purchase it with Spanish coin, but my guide would not permit the woodman to part with it, and tucking it into his belt that it might not be seen again, he said something to him in an angry tone, and the poor fellow walked on with his load to the town. We afterwards got some of this money, which

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* These coins being of small value, they are strung together in hundreds, and have a knot at each end, so that it is not necessary to count them.

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was exactly the same as that which is current at Canton, and found that it was also in circulation in Loo Choo. Though they afterwards admitted this fact, they denied having any silver or gold coin in the country.

Our subsequent excursions were nearly a repetition of what has been described, and were made nearly to the same places, with the exception of two or three, which I shall describe hereafter. In all these the same artifice was practised to induce us to confine ourselves to the beach, and particularly to prevent a near approach to the villages. Tobacco, tsha, and chorassa masa were the great temptations held out to us; but neither the tea, nor the masa, which, by the by, was seldom produced, had sufficient charms to dissuade some of our young gentlemen from gratifying their curiosity, though it was at the expense of the convenience of the natives, whose dresses were very ill adapted to speed; and thus, by outrunning them, they saw many places which they would not otherwise have been permitted to enter, and got much nearer to the town than I felt it would be right for me to do in consequence of my promise to An-yah. I shall, therefore, give such extracts from their journals as are interesting, but in a few pages in advance, that I may not disturb the order of the narrative.

On the 21st, An-yah came off to say, that the mandarin had accepted my invitation to visit the ship, and would come on board that day: we consequently made preparation to receive him. As it appeared to me that Napa-keang possessed no boat sufficiently good for so great an occasion, I offered to send one of ours to the town for his accommodation, which, in addition to obliging the mandarin, would afford an opportunity

of seeing the place; but An-yah would not permit it, and fearful that we might really pursue this piece of politeness further, got out of the ship as fast as he could, saying the mandarin was at Potsoong, and not in the town. About two o'clock he pushed off from that place with his party in two clumsy punts, sculled by several men singing a chorus, which differed, both in words and air, from that used by the boatmen in general. The mandarin was seated in the largest of these boats, under a wide Chinese umbrella, with two or three mandarins of inferior rank by him; the other boat contained An-yah, Shtafacoo, Sandoo, and others, with whom we were well acquainted, and who rowed on before the mandarin, and announced his approach by presenting a crimson scroll of paper, exactly a yard in length, on which was elegantly written in Chinese characters, "Ching-oong-choo, the magistrate of Napa, in the Loo Choo country, bows his head to the ground, and pays a visit." By this time the other boat with the great man was alongside the ship, and four domestics with scarlet hatchee-matchees ascended the side, one of them bearing a large square hatchee-matchee box, in which there was an old comb. They pulled up the side ropes, and carefully inspected them, to see whether they were strong enough to hold their master, and let them down again for the mandarin, who, very little accustomed to such feats, ascended the side with difficulty.

He was received with a guard under arms, and a mandarin's salute was fired as he put his foot upon the deck, with which he was much gratified, and he shook every officer by the hand with unaffected pleasure. The yards had been manned as he was coming off, and when the pipe was given for the seamen to

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come down, the evolution produced a little surprise, and must have impressed the Loo Chooans with the decided advantage of our dress over theirs, where activity is required. Ojee, one of the party, who also styled himself Jeema, and is mentioned by Captain Hall, followed, and then the rest of the mandarins in yellow hatchee-matchees and gowns.

To persons who had visited a fine English frigate, disciplined by one of the ablest officers in the British Navy, the Blossom could have presented nothing extraordinary; and as the greater part of our visitors were familiar with the *Alceste*, they were very little interested in what they saw; but Ching-oong-choo had not been long from Pekin, and never, probably, having put his foot on the deck of a ship before, a Chinese junk excepted, examined every thing very attentively, and made many inquiries about the guns, powder, and shot.

None of the natives offered to seat themselves in the cabin in the presence of the mandarin until dinner was brought in, but they then dispensed with formalities, and those who were familiar with European customs chinchinned each other with wine, and reversed their glasses each time, to the great amusement of their superior. During dinner the fate of Madera was inquired into, but we got no satisfactory answer, and a mystery seemed to hang over his fate, which made us suspect he had in some way, or other been disgraced. Jeema took the opportunity of showing he recollected his visits to the *Alceste* and *Lyra*, but he did not make any inquiry after his friends in either vessel.

As we had lately been at Canton, we were provided with many things which were happily to the taste of

our guests, who would otherwise have fared badly, as they did not appear to relish our joints of meat; nor did some bottled porter accord better with their taste, or after occasioning many wry faces, it was put aside as being bitter; a flavour which I have observed is seldom relished for the first time. Not so some royeau, which was well adapted to the sweet palate of the Loo Chooans; nor some effervescing draughts, which were quite new to them, and created considerable surprise. They, however, seemed to enjoy themselves a great deal; were jovial without being noisy, and with the exception of a disagreeable practice of eructation, and even worse, they were polite people; though I cannot say I approved of their refinement upon our pocket handkerchief. An-yah often intimated to me that he thought it was a disagreeable practice to use a handkerchief and carry it about all day, and thought it would be better for us to adopt their custom of having a number of square pieces of paper in our pockets for this purpose, any one of which could be thrown away when it had been used. I did not at first think he was in earnest, and when I observed my guests pocket these pieces of paper, I sent for some handkerchiefs, but they declined using them, saying paper was much better.

While we were at dinner a large junk which we had observed taking in a cargo the day before, was towed out of the harbour by an immense number of boats, making the shores echo with her deep-toned gong. She grounded off the entrance of the harbour, but was soon got off, and placed outside the reefs. A more unwieldy ark scarcely ever put to sea, and when she rolled, her masts bent to that degree that the people on her deck seemed to be in imminent danger of their

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lives. She was decorated with flags of all sorts and sizes: at the fore there was hoisted the white flag of the emperor; at the main, the Loo Choo colours, a triangular flag, red and yellow, with a white ball in it, denoting, I believe, a tributary state; there were besides several others, and a great many mandarins' flags upon staffs along the stern. Ching-oong-choo said she was the junk with tribute which was sent every second year from Loo Choo to Fochien. Her cargo, before it was stowed, was placed upon the wharf in square piles, with small flags upon sticks, stuck here and there upon the bales of goods, which were apparently done up in straw matting; for it was only with our telescopes that we were allowed to see this.

After dinner was over, the mandarin went on shore, and begged to have the pleasure of our company to dinner at Potsoong the next day; but the rest of the company obtained permission to stay and enjoy a little more sackee, after which they pocketed the remains of the dessert as usual, and as a token of their friendship, they each threw down their pipe and tobacco-pouch, and begged my acceptance of them; but as I knew these articles were valuable in Loo Choo, and was conscious that with some of them it was only a matter of form, I declined accepting them.

The next day it rained heavily, but An-yah came off to keep us to our engagement, saying the mandarin was at Potsoong in readiness to receive us; we accordingly went, and were met at the landing-place by Jeema and a great crowd of Loo Chooans, with umbrellas, who accompanied us to the house, where we were received by the mandarin in a most cordial and friendly manner. For convenience both apartments were thrown into one, by the removal of shifting panels, and

the servants were regaled upon the floor in the inner room, while we were seated at a table in the outer apartment. Our table, which had been made in Japan, was nicely lacquered, and had Chinese characters gilt upon its edges and down the sides of the legs, recording the date and place where it was made, as well as the name of the workman, &c. It was covered with dishes containing a variety of eatables, principally sweetmeats, and two sorts of spirits, sackee and mooroofacoo. The former resembles the samscheu of China, and the other is a dark coloured cordial possessing a bitter-sweet taste. We were seated on one side of the table, myself in an old-fashioned chair, and the other officers upon camp-stools with japanned backs, and the host, Jeema, and the other mandarins, on the other side: and each person was provided with a small enamelled cup, and a saucer with a pair of chopsticks laid across it; the crowd all the while surrounding the house, and watching through its open sides every motion we made. Pipes and mooroofacoo were first offered to us, and then each dish in succession; of which we partook, according to our different tastes, without being aware of the Chinese custom of giving the sweets first, and reserving the substantial part of the dinner for the last.

Among the dishes, besides some sweet cakes made very light, were different kinds of pastry, one of a circular form, called *hannaburee*, another tied in a knot, hard and disagreeable, called *matzakai*, and a third called *kooming*, which enclosed some kind of fish. There was also a mamalade, called *tsheeptang*, a dish of hard boiled eggs without the shells, painted red, and a pickle which was used instead of salt, called *dzeeseekedakoonnee*; besides a small dish of sliced cold

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liver, called *watshaingo*, which in this course was the only meat upon the table. We ate more plentifully of these sweet things than we liked, in consequence of our ignorance of what was to follow, and partly from our not being aware that their politeness prevented them from sending away any dish as long as we could be prevailed upon to partake of it—a feeling which induced them continually to press us to eat, and offer us part of every dish on the end of their chopsticks. The next course induced us to regret that we had not made the tasting more a matter of form, for it consisted of several good dishes, such as roast pork, hashed fowls, and vermicelli pudding, &c. After these were removed they brought basins of rice, but seeing we would eat no more, they ordered the whole to be taken away.

During the whole time we were closely plied with sackee in small opaque wine glasses, which held about a thimblefull, and were compelled to follow the example of our host and turn our glasses down; but as this spirit was of a very ardent nature, I begged to be allowed to substitute port and madeira, which was readily granted, and we became more on a footing with our hosts, who seemed to think that hospitality consisted in making every person take more than they liked, and argued that as they had been intoxicated on board, we ought to become so on shore.

After dinner was removed, Jeema favoured us with two songs, which were very passable, and much to the taste of the Loo Chooans, who seemed to enjoy them very much. Nothing could exceed the politeness and hospitality of the mandarin throughout, who begged that dinner might be sent off to one of the officers, whose health would not permit him to risk a wetting.

and that all the boats' crews might be allowed to come to the house and partake of the feast. Though there was a little ceremony in receiving and seating us, yet that almost immediately wore off, and Ching-oon-choo to make every person at his ease took off his hatchee-matchee, and with the rest of the mandarins sat without it. By this piece of politeness we discovered that his hair was secured on the top of the head by a gold hair pin, called *kamesache*, the first and the only one we saw made of that precious metal.

We afterwards took a short walk in the garden, when I was surprised to find An-yah and Shtafacoo in the dress and hatchee-matchee of mandarins of the second class : whether this was intended as a trick, or, following Madera's example, they preferred making their first acquaintance in disguise, is not very clear ; but as they both possessed a great deal of influence, and were much respected by the lower orders of the inhabitants, it was probably their proper dress.

As soon as Ching-oon-choo permitted us, we took our leave, and were accompanied to the boat by a great crowd of persons, who opened a passage as we proceeded, and were officiously anxious to be useful in some way or other ; and we then parted with Jeema and the rest amidst the greetings and salutations of hundreds of voices.

On the 21st, one of the officers made an excursion to the southward of Abbey Point, and was attended as usual by a concourse of boys and young men, who were extremely polite and respectful. They used every artifice and persuasion to deter him from proceeding, said they were tired, tempted him with *tsha*, and declared that they were hungry, but he ingeniously silenced the latter complaint by offering his

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guide a piece of bread which he had in his basket. He was thankfully accepted, but with a smile at the artifice having failed. At a village called Aseemee he surprised two females standing at a well filling their pitchers; they scrutinized him for some time, and then ran off to their homes.

The village contained about fifty houses; and was almost hid from view by a screen of trees, among which were recognised the acacia, the porou of the South Seas, and the hibiscus rosa sinensis, but the greater part of the others appeared to be new; they formed a lively green wood, and gave the village an agreeable aspect. In one of the cottages a boy of about six years of age was seated at a machine made of bamboo resembling a small Scotch muckle wheel, spinning some very fine cotton into a small thread. Though so young, he appeared to be quite an adept at his business, and was not the least embarrassed at the approach of the strangers. A quantity of thread ready spun lay in the house; there was a loom close by, and some newly manufactured cloth, which appeared to have been recently dyed, was extended to dry outside the house. Near this cottage there were broken parts of a mill, which indicated the use of those machines, and circular marks on the earth, showing that this one had been worked by cattle. About a mile and a half to the southward of Abbey Point, near a steep wooded eminence, which we christened Wood Point, there was another village named Oofoomee, through which Mr. Collie passed preceded by his guide, who warned the female part of the inhabitants of his approach in order that they might get out of his way. His guide was delighted when he directed his steps toward the ship, as he was

very tired, and even had a horse brought to him before he got to the beach. This animal was eleven hands and a half in height, and would hardly have kept a moderately tall person's feet off the ground; but his guide, though there was not much necessity for bracing his feet up very high, obviated the possibility of this inconvenience by riding with his knees up to his breast. The stirrups were massy, and made of iron curiously inlaid with brass, and shaped something like a clumsy Chinese shoe. At Abbey Point he visited some sepulchres hewn out of the rock or formed of natural caverns; one of these happened to be partly open, and he discovered four large red earthen jars, one of which was fortunately broken, and exhibited its contents, consisting of bones of the human skeleton.

In another excursion made by this gentleman to the north-east of Potsoong, he visited a temple of Budh, situated in a romantic copse of trees. The approach to it was along a path paved with coral slabs, partly overgrown with grass, and under an archway in the formation of which art had materially assisted the hand of nature. After resting a short time in this romantic situation he descended the paved way, passed some tall trees, among which was a species of erethrina of large growth, and arrived at the house of a priest, who invited him to smoke and partake of tea and rice. Three young boys were in the house, who, as well as the priest, had their heads shaved according to the custom of the priesthood in China.

By the 25th May, we had completed the survey of the port, replenished our water, received a little fresh stock, and obtained some interesting astronomical and magnetical observations; the day of departure was

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consequently near at hand. This event, after which many anxious inquiries were made by the natives, was, I believe, generally contemplated with pleasure on both sides; not that we felt careless about parting with our friends, but we could not enjoy their society without so many restrictions, and we were daily exposed to the temptation of a beautiful country without the liberty of exploring it, that our situation very soon became extremely irksome. The day of our departure, therefore, was hailed with pleasure, not only by ourselves but by those to whom the troublesome and fatiguing duty had been assigned of attending upon our motions: and they must moreover have looked with suspicion on the operations of the survey that were daily going forward, even had they not suspected our motives for putting into their port.

I was very anxious before this day arrived to possess a set of the pins that are worn by the natives in their hair. From their conduct it appeared that these ornaments had some other value attached to them than that of their intrinsic worth, or there would not have been so much difficulty in procuring them. Seeing they set so much value upon them that none of the natives could be induced to part with them, I begged An-yah would acquaint the mandarin with my desire, and if possible, that he would procure me a set. An-yah replied he would certainly deliver my message to the mandarin, and the next morning brought a set of the most inferior kind, made of brass. As the mandarin had received some liberal presents from me, I observed to An-yah that this conduct was ungenerous, and that I expected a set made of silver; his opinion he said very much coincided with mine, and added that he would endeavour to

have them changed, but the following morning he met me on shore and said—"mandarin very bad man, no give you silver kamesache:" but An-yah, determined that my request should be complied with, had by some means succeeded in procuring a set for me, which he presented in his own name. I rewarded his generous behaviour by making him a present of some cut glass decanters and wine glasses, which are more esteemed in Loo Choo even than a telescope.

On the 27th we made preparations for weighing by hoisting our sails, and An-yah, Shtafacoo, and Shayoon, who had been our constant attendants, came off to take leave. These good people had been put to much trouble and anxiety on our account, and had so ingratiated themselves with us, that as the moment approached I really believe the desire for our departure was proportionably lessened; and when the day arrived they testified their regret in a warm but manly manner, shook us heartily by the hand, and each gave some little token of regard which they begged us to keep in remembrance of them. As we moved from the anchorage, the inhabitants assembled on the house-tops, as before, upon the tombs, in the forts, and upon every place that would afford them a view, of our operations; some waving umbrellas and others fans.

Having brought to a conclusion the sketch of our visit to Loo Choo, I intend in the few pages that follow to embody what other information was collected from time to time, and to offer a few remarks on the state of the country as we found it, as compared with that which has been given by Captain Hall and the late Mr. McCleod, surgeon of the *Alceste*. In the foregoing narrative I have avoided entering minutely into

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a description of the manners and persons of the inhabitants; and I have omitted several incidents and anecdotes of the people, as being similar to those which have already been given in the delightful publications above mentioned.

Loo Choo has always been said to be very populous, particularly the southern districts, and we saw nothing in that part of the island which could induce us to doubt the assertion. On the contrary, the number of villages scattered over the country, and the crowds of persons whom we met whenever we landed, amply testified the justness of the observation. We were, certainly, in the vicinity of the capital, and at the principal seaport town of the island; but in forming our estimate of the population, it must be borne in mind that we were very likely to underrate its amount, in consequence of the greater number of persons who crowd into Chinese towns than reside in villages of the same size in countries from which we have taken our standard.

The people are of very diminutive stature, and according to our estimation their average height does not exceed five feet five inches. As might be expected, from the Loo Chooans being descendants of the Japanese, and numerous families from China having settled in the island, there is a union of the disposition and of the manners, as well as of the features of both countries. The better classes seemed by their features to be allied to the Chinese, and the lower orders to the Japanese; but, in each, the manners of both countries may be traced. Their mode of salutation, their custom of putting to their foreheads any thing that is given to them, their paper pocket handkerchiefs, and some parts of their dress, are peculiarly

Japanese. In other respects they resemble the Chinese. The hatchee-matchee and the hair-pins are, I believe, confined to their own country, though smaller metal hair-pins are worn by the ladies of Japan*. On the whole they appear to be a more amiable people than either the Chinese or Japanese, though they are not without the vices natural to mankind, nor free from those which characterise the inhabitants of the above mentioned countries. They have all the politeness, affability, and ceremony of the Chinese, with more honesty and ingenuousness than is generally possessed by those people; and they are less warlike, cruel, and obsequious than the Japanese, and perhaps less suspicious of foreigners than those people appear to be. In their intercourse with foreigners their conduct appears to be governed by the same artful policy as that of both China and Japan, and we found they would likewise sometimes condescend to assert an untruth to serve their purpose; and so apparent was this deceitfulness, that some among us were led to impute their extreme civility, and their generosity to strangers, to impure motives. They are exceedingly timorous and effeminate, so much so that I can fancy they would be induced to grant almost any thing they possess rather than go to war; and, as one of my officers justly observes in his journal, had a party insisted upon entering the town, they would probably have submitted in silence, treated them with the greatest politeness, and by some plausible pretext have got rid of them as soon as they could.

They appear to be peaceable and happy, and the lower orders to be as free from distress as those of any

* See Langsdorf's Travels, vol. ii.

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country that we know of; though we met several men working in the fields who were in rags, and nearly naked. The most striking peculiarity of the people is the excessive politeness of even the lowest classes of inhabitants: on no account would they willingly do any thing disagreeable to a stranger, and when compelled, by higher authorities than themselves, to pursue a certain line of conduct, they did it in the manner that was the least likely to give offence; and it was quite laughable to notice the fertility of their invention in order to obtain this end, which was seldom gained without a sad sacrifice of integrity. Their reluctance to receive remuneration for their trouble, or for the provisions which they supply to foreigners, is equally remarkable. Captain Broughton and Captain Hall have noticed their conduct in this respect. In the case of a whale ship which put into Napa-keang in 1826, and received nearly two dozen bullocks and other supplies, the only remuneration they would receive was a map of the world. And in our own instance (though we managed by making presents to the mandarins and to the people to prevent their being losers by their generosity), An-yah's reply to my question, whether we should pay for the supplies we received in money or goods? was, "Mandarin give you plenty, no want pay." But with all this politeness, as is the case with the Chinese, they cannot be said to be a polished people.

Our means of judging of their education were very limited: a few only of the lower orders could read the Chinese characters, and still fewer were acquainted with the Chinese pronunciation; even among the better classes there were some who were ignorant of both. Schools appear to have been established in

Loo Choo as far back as the reign of Chun-tien, about the year 1817, when characters were introduced into the country, and the inhabitants began to read and write. These characters were said to be the same as those of the Japanese alphabet *yrofa**. In the year 1372, other schools were established, and the Chinese character was substituted for that of the Japanese; and about the middle of the seventeenth century, when the Mantchur dynasty became fixed upon the throne of China, the Emperor Kang-hi built a college in Loo Choo for the instruction of youth, and for making them familiar with the Chinese character. An-yah intimated that schoolmasters had recently been sent there from China; and one day while I was making some observations, several boys who were noticed among the crowd with books, and who seemed proud of being able to read the Chinese characters, were pointed out by An-yah as being the scholars of those people.

I am of opinion that the inhabitants of Loo Choo have no written character in use which can properly be called their own, but that they express themselves in that which is strictly Chinese. We certainly never saw any except that of China during our residence in the country. The manuscripts which I brought away with me were all of the same character precisely, and some were written by persons who did not know that I was more familiar with the Chinese character than with any other.

It is very probable that the Japanese character was in use formerly; but it is now so long since schools have been established in Loo Choo for teaching the

* Recueil de Pere Gaubil.

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Chinese character, viz. since 1372, and the Chinese, whose written character is easier to learn than the other, have always been the favourite nation of the Loo Choo people, that it is very probable the Japanese character may now be obsolete. An-yah would give us no information on this subject, nor would he bring us any of the books which were in use in Loo Choo. One which I saw in the hands of a boy at Abbey Point appeared to be written in Chinese characters, which are so different from those of the Japanese that they may be readily detected.

M. Grosier on this subject, quoting the Chinese authors, says that letters, accounts, and the king's proclamations are written in Japanese characters; and books on morality, history, medicine, astronomy, &c. in those of China. One of the authors whom he quotes adds, that the priests throughout the kingdom have schools for teaching the youth to read according to the precepts of the Japanese alphabet Y-ro-fa. As we may presume they teach morality in these schools, it would follow, as books on those subjects are all written in Chinese characters, that the boys must be taught both languages; but had this been the case, I think we should have seen the Japanese character written by some of them. It is to be observed, that the invocations in the temples and on the kao-roo stones are all in the character of China.

While upon this subject, I must observe, that the idea of Mons. P. S. Du Ponceau,* "that the meaning of the Chinese characters cannot be understood alike in the different languages in which they are used," is not strictly correct, as we found many Loo Choo

* See a letter from this gentleman to Captain Basil Hall, R. N., published in the *Annals of Philosophy* for January, 1829.

people who understood the meaning of the character, which was the same with them as with the Chinese, but who could not give us the Chinese pronunciation of the word. And this is an answer to another observation which precedes that above mentioned, viz. that "as the Chinese characters are in direct connexion with the Chinese spoken words, they can only be read and understood by those who are familiar with the spoken language." The Loo Choo words for the same things are very different from those of the Chinese, the one being often a monosyllable, and the other a polysyllable; as in the instance of *charcoal*, the Chinese word for it being *tan*, and the Loo Chooan *chd-eh-e-jing*, and yet the people use precisely the same character as the Chinese to express this word; and so far from its being necessary to be familiar with the language to understand the characters, many did not know the Chinese words for them. Their language throughout is very different from that of the Chinese, and much more nearly allied to the Japanese. The observation of M. Klaproth, in *Archiv für Asiatische Litteratur*, p. 152, that the Loo Choo language is a dialect of the Japanese with a good deal of Chinese introduced into it, appears to be perfectly correct, from the information of some gentlemen who have compared the two, and are familiar with both languages. The vocabulary of Lieutenant Clifford, which we found very correct, will at any time afford the means of making this comparison.

The inhabitants of Loo Choo are very curious on almost all subjects, and seem very desirous of information; but we were wholly unable to judge of their proficiency in any subject, in consequence of the great disadvantages under which we visited their country.

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Like the Japanese, they have always shown a determination to resist the attempts of Europeans to trade with them, partly, no doubt, in consequence of orders to that effect from China, and partly from their own timidity; and whenever a foreign vessel arrives it is their policy to keep her in ignorance of their weakness, by confining the crew to their vessel, or, if they cannot do that, within a limited walk of the beach, and through such places only as will not enlighten them on this point; and also to supply her with what she requires, in order that she may have no pretext for remaining.

Mr. Collier in his journal has given a phrenological description of the heads of several Loo Chooans which he examined and measured, in which proportions he thinks the lovers of that science will find much that is in accordance with the character of the people. The article, I am sorry to say, is too long for insertion here, and I only mention the circumstance that the information may not be lost.

We had but few opportunities of seeing any of the females of this country, and those only of the working class. An-yah said they were ugly, and told us we might judge of what they were like from the lower orders which we saw. They dressed their hair in the same manner as those people, and were free from the Chinese custom of modelling their feet.

The Loo Choo people dress extremely neat, and always appear cleanly in their persons; they observe the Chinese custom of going bareheaded, and when the sun strikes hot upon their skins, they avert its rays with their fans, which may be considered part of the dress of a Loo Chooan. In warm weather they wear cloaks and broad hats similar to those of the

Japanese, and exchange their straw sandals for wooden logs. They have besides umbrellas to protect them from the rain. Of their occupations we could not judge; it was evident that there were a great many agriculturists among them, and many artisans, as they have various manufactures, of which I shall speak hereafter.

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They appear to be very temperate in their meals, and indulge only in tea, sweetmeats, and tobacco, of which they smoke a great quantity; it is, however, of a very mild quality and pleasant flavour. Their pipes are very short, and scarcely hold half a thimbleful; this is done that they may be the oftener replenished, in order to enjoy the flavour of fresh tobacco, which is considered a luxury.

For further information on the manners, the dress, and minor points of interest belonging to these people, I must refer to the publications of Captain Hall and Mr. Macleod, who have so interestingly described all the little traits of character of the simple Loo Chooans, and who have portrayed their conduct with so much spirit, good feeling, and minuteness. These descriptions, though they have been a little overdrawn from the impulse of grateful recollections, from the ignorance in which the authors were kept by the cautious inhabitants, and from their desire to avoid giving offence, by pushing their inquiries as far as was necessary to enable them to form a correct judgment upon many things, are, upon the whole, very complete representations of the people.

The supposition that the inhabitants of Loo Choo possessed no weapons, offensive or otherwise, naturally excited surprise in England, and the circumstance became one of our chief objects of inquiry. I

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cannot say the result of the investigation was as satisfactory as I could have wished, as we never saw any weapon whatever in use, or otherwise, in the island, and the supposition of their existence rests entirely upon the authority of the natives, and upon circumstantial evidence. The mandarin Ching-oong-choo, and several other persons, declared there were both cannon and muskets in the island; and An-yah distinctly stated there were twenty-six of the former distributed among their junks.* We were disposed to believe this statement, from seeing the fishermen, and all classes at Napa, so familiar with the use and exercise of our cannon, and particularly so from their appreciating the improvement of the flint-lock upon that of the match-lock, which I understood from the natives to be in use in Loo-Choo; and unless they possessed these locks it is difficult to imagine from whence they could have derived their knowledge. The figures drawn upon the panels of the joshouse, seated upon broadswords and bows and arrows, may be adduced as further evidence of their possessing weapons; and this is materially strengthened by the fact of their harbour being defended by three square stone forts, one on each side of the entrance, and the other upon a small island, so situated within the harbour, that it would present a raking fire to a vessel entering the port; and these forts having a number of loop-holes in them, and a platform and parapet formed above with stone steps leading up to it in several places. This platform would not have been wide enough for our cannon, if true; but unless it were built for the reception of those weapons, there

* There were none on board the junk which sailed for China.

apparently no other use for which it could have been designed. I presented the mandarin with a pair of pistols, which he thankfully accepted, and they were taken charge of by his domestics without exciting any unusual degree of curiosity. Upon questioning An-yah where his government procured its powder, he immediately replied from Fochien.

It is further extremely improbable that these people should have no weapons, considering the expeditions which have been successively fitted out by both China and Japan against Loo Choo, and the civil wars which unfortunately prevailed in the island, more or less, during the greater part of the time that the nation was divided into three kingdoms.* Besides, the haughty tone of the king to the commander of an expedition which was sent, in A. D. 605, to demand submission to his master the Emperor of China, viz. "That he would acknowledge no master," is not the language of a people destitute of weapons. Loo Choo has been subdued by almost every expedition against it, yet it is not likely the country could have made even a show of resistance against the invaders had the inhabitants been unarmed; they nevertheless resisted the famous Tay-Cosama, and though conquered, threw off the yoke of Japan soon afterwards, and returned under the dominion of China. It was afterwards retaken by Kingtchang with 3,000 Japanese, who imprisoned the king, and killed Tching-hoey, his father, because he refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of Japan.† They are, besides, said to have sent swords

* From its division under Yut-ching in 1300, until it was united under Chang-pat-chi, about a century afterwards.

† Report of Supao-Koang, a learned Chinese physician, sent by the Emperor of China to Loo Choo in 1719, to report upon the country.—Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, vol. xxviii.

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as tribute to Japan. In 1454 the king Chang-tai-keiou had to sustain a civil war against his brother, who was at first successful, and beat Chang-tai-keiou in a battle, in which he fought at the head of *his troops*. It is not probable that all this warfare and bloodshed should have transpired without the Loo Chooans being possessed of arms; besides, it is expressly stated by Supao-Koang, that arms were manufactured in the island. I am, therefore, disposed to believe that the Loo Chooans have weapons, and that they are similar to those in use in China. And with regard to the objection, which none of them having ever been seen in Loo Choo would offer, I can only say, that while I was in China, with the exception of the cannon in the forts, I did not see a weapon of any kind, though that people is well known to possess them.

It was also thought that the Loo Choo people were ignorant of the use of money. But this point has now been satisfactorily determined by our having seen it in circulation in the island, and having some of it in our own possession. The coin was similar to the *cash* of China. An-yat declared that there were no gold or silver coins in the country, not even ingots, which are in use in China; but this will hereafter, perhaps, prove to be untrue, as he even denied the use of the cash until it was found in circulation. There is very little doubt that money has been long known to, if not in use among, the Loo Chooans. About the year A. D. 1454, in the reign of Chang-tai-keiou, we are told that so large a quantity of silver and brass coin was taken from China to Loo Choo, that the provinces of Tche-Kiang and of Foehien complained to the emperor of the scarcity it had occasioned in those places; * and

* Recueil de Pere Gambi.

Père Gaubil, quoting Supao-Koang, after enumerating several articles of trade, says "tout cela se vend et s'achète, ou par échange ou en deniers de cuivres de la Chine."

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Our countrymen were further led to believe, from what they saw of the mild and gentle conduct of the superior orders in Loo Choo towards their inferiors, that the heaviest penalty attached to the commission of a crime was a gentle tap of a fan. Our friend with his bamboo cane, who was put on board to preserve order among his countrymen, afforded the first and most satisfactory evidence we could have had of this being an error, and had we possessed no other means of information, his conduct would have favoured the presumption of more severe chastisement being occasionally inflicted. It happened, however, fortunately, that I had purchased in China a book of the punishments of that country, in which the refined cruelty of the Chinese is exhibited in a variety of ways. By showing these to the Loo Choo people, and inquiring if the same were practised in their country, we found that many of their punishments were very similar. Those which they acknowledged were death by strangulation upon a cross, and sometimes under the most cruel torture; and minor punishments, such as loading the body with iron chains; or locking the neck into a heavy wooden frame; enclosing a person in a cage, with only his head out, shaved, and exposed to a scorching sun; and binding the hands and feet, and throwing quicklime into the eyes. I was further assured that confession was sometimes extorted by the unheard-of cruelty of dividing the joints of the fingers

* Ibid. p. 402. *Lettres Edifiantes*.

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alternately, and clipping the muscles of the legs and arms with scissars. Issacha Sando took pains to explain the manner in which this cruelty was performed, putting his fingers to the muscles in imitation of a pair of sheers, so that I could not be mistaken: besides, other persons at Potsöong told me in answer to my inquiry, for I was rather sceptical myself, that it was quite true, and that they had seen a person expire under this species of torture. However, lest it should be thought I may have erred in attaching such cruelties to a people apparently so mild and humane, I shall insert some questions that were put to the Loo Chooans out of Dr. Morrison's Dictionary, and their answers to them respectively.

"Do the Loo Choo people torture and interrogate with the lash?" "Yes."—"Do they examine by torture?" "Yes."—"Do they give false evidence through fear of torture?" "Yes."—"Are great officers of the third degree of rank and upwards, who are degraded and seized to be tried, subjected to torture?" "No."—"Is torture inflicted in an illegal and extreme degree?" "Not illegal."—"Do you torture to death the real offender?" "Yes, sometimes."—"What punishment do you inflict for murder?" "Kill, *by hanging or strangulation.*"—"For robbery?" "The same."—"For adultery?" "*Banish to Patanjai*" (probably Pat-chong-chan, an island to the south-west of Typing-san.)—"For seduction?" "The same." Minor offences we were told were punished with a bambooning or a flagellation with a rod. Crimes are said to be few in number, and speaking generally there appears to be very little vice in the people.

* The words in italics were implied by signs.

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I was assured by An-yah that marriages in Loo Choo were contracted as they are in China, by the parents or by a friend of the parties, without the principals seeing each other. Only one wife, I believe, is allowed in Loo Choo, though to the question, whether a plurality of wives was permitted? both An-yah and Shtafacoo said that the mandarin had five, and that the king had several.* They, however, afterwards declared that in their country it was customary to have only one wife. Perhaps it is the same in Loo Choo as in China, where a man may have only one lawful wife; but with her permission he may marry as many more as he can provide for. These wives are as much respected as the first wife, but they do not inherit their husbands' property.

In Loo Choo, as in China, there is no religion of the state, and every man is allowed freely to enjoy his own opinion, though here, also, a distinction is made between the sects, one being considered superior to the other. The sects in Loo Choo are Joo, Taou, and Foo, or Budh; but the disciples of the latter consist almost entirely of persons of the lowest order, and An-yah appeared to think very lightly of its votaries, saying they were "no good." It is upon record that it is 1011 years since this sect passed from China to Loo Choo. For several centuries its doctrines appear to have been advocated by the court as well as by the common people: but with the latter classes they have since been supplanted by those of Confucius. We are told that in the year 1372 several families from Fochien settled near Napa-kiang, and introduced ceremonies in honour of the great Chinese philosopher, whose me-

* Supao-Koang says a plurality of wives is permitted.

mory was further honoured by a temple being erected to him in Loo Choo, in 1663, by the Manchu Tartar, Emperor Kang-hi. Confucius is now honoured and revered by all classes in Loo Choo. The sect Taou, which is equally corrupt with that of Foo, has but few advocates among the better classes of society.

Like the Chinese, the Loo Chooans are extremely superstitious, and invoke their deities upon every occasion, sometimes praying to the good spirit, and at others to the evil. Near the beach to the northward of Potsoong, upon the shore which faces the coast of China, there were several square stones with pieces of paper attached to them. The natives gave us to understand they were the prayers of individuals; but we could not exactly understand the nature of them. A label similarly placed to those upon the beach was carried away by Captain Hall, and found to contain a prayer for the safe voyage of a friend who had gone from Loo Choo to China; it is very probable, therefore, that those which we saw were for similar purposes. At the Jos House at Potsoong I have mentioned pieces of paper being suspended between the panels, and have also suggested the probability of their being supplications of a similar nature. Indeed one of these also was taken to Macao by Lieutenant Clifford, and found to be an invocation of the devil.*

In a natural cave near Abbey Point, I found a rudely carved image, about three feet in height, of the goddess Kwan-yin (pronounced Kwan-yong by the Loo Chooans). In front of the deity there were several square stone vessels for offerings, and upon one of them some short pieces of polished wood were

* Hall's Loo Choo, 4to. p. 206.

placed, which I conjectured to be for the purpose of deciding questions, in the manner practised by the Foo sect in China, by being tossed in the air, or rattled in a bamboo case until one falls to the ground with its mark uppermost; when it is referred to a number in the book of the priest, and an answer is given accordingly. The natives were very unwilling to allow me to approach this figure, and pulled me back when I stepped into a small stone area in front of it, for the purpose of examining these pieces of wood. In China there are fasts in honour of this goddess, and no doubt there are the same in Loo Choo.

The following answers to several questions which I put to the natives of Loo Choo will fully explain the religion of the people.

"How many religions are there in Loo Choo?" "Three."—"What are these religions?" "Joo, Shih, Taou. Shih is the same as Foo."—"Are there many persons of the religion of Joo?" "Plenty."—"Foo?" "No good."—"Taou?" "Few."—"Does the sect Joo worship images?" "Sometimes kneel down to heaven, sometimes pray in heart, sometimes go priest house (temple)."—"Do they go to the temple of Kwan-yin?" "Yes."—"Do they go to the temple of Pih-chang?" "Sometimes."—"Do they go to the temple of Ching-hwang?"* "No."—"Do Joo, Shih, and Taou believe that heaven will reward the good and punish the bad?" "Yes."

To the sentence, "At heart the doctrine of the three religions is the same; and it is firmly believed that heaven will do justice by rewarding the good and punishing the bad," An-yah did not assent. To the

* Ching-hwang is the goddess of Canton.

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following sentence. "Both in this life and in the life to come there are rewards and punishments; but there is regard to the offences of men, whether heinous or not: speedy punishments are in this life; those that are more remote in the world to come," An-yah replied, "Priest say so."

"God created and constantly governs all things?" "Englishman's God, yes."—"When God created the great progenitor of all men, he was perfectly holy and perfectly happy?" "No."—"The first ancestor of the human race sinned against God, and all his descendants are naturally depraved, inclined to evil, and averse from good." "Good."—"If men's hearts be not renewed, and their sins atoned for, they must after death suffer everlasting misery in hell." "Priest say so: An-yah not think so."—"Do the three sects believe in metempsychosis?" This was not understood.—"Do they believe that all things are appointed by heaven?" "Yes."—"Are there any atheists in Loo Choo?" "Many."

In Loo Choo the priesthood are as much neglected and despised as in China, notwithstanding their being consulted as oracles by all classes. Several of them visited me in the garden at Potsoong, and remained while I made my magnetical observations. As these occupied a long time, I had an opportunity of particularly remarking these unfortunate beings, and certainly I never saw a more unintellectual and careworn class of men. Many persons crowded round the spot to observe what was going forward, and the poor priests were obliged to give way to every new comer, notwithstanding they were in their own garden. Their heads were shaved, similar to those of the Bodzes in China. I am not aware in what this prac-

tice originated, but as an observer I could not help noticing that the same operation is performed on the heads of criminals, or of persons who are disgraced in China; and from Abbé Grosier it appears to be considered a similar disgrace in Loo Choo.*

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I endeavoured to distribute amongst the inhabitants some religious books which Dr. Morrison had given me in China, but there was a very great repugnance among the better part of the community to suffer them even to be looked into, much less to being carried away; and several that were secretly taken on shore by the lower orders were brought back the next day. However, I succeeded in disposing of a few copies, and Mr. Lay, I am glad to find, was equally fortunate with some which he also obtained from the same gentleman.

It has been shown, in the course of the narrative, that the present manner of disposing of the dead differs from that described by Père Gaubil, who says they burn the flesh of the deceased, and preserve the bones. It is not improbable that the custom may have changed, and that there is no mistake in the statement, as there is no reason to doubt the veracity of the Chinese author whom he quotes.

They pay every possible attention and respect to their departed friends by attending strictly to their mourning, frequently visiting the tombs, and, for a certain time after the bodies are interred, in supplying the cups and other vessels placed there with tea, and the lamps with oil, and also by keeping the tombs exceedingly neat and clean. We have frequently seen persons attending these lamps, and Lieutenant Wainwright noticed an old man strewing flowers and shells

* Description de la Chine, vol. II. p. 143.

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upon a newly made grave, which he said contained his son, and watching several sticks of incense as they burned slowly down to the earth in which they were fixed.

The trade of this island is almost entirely confined to Japan, China, and Formosa; Manilla is known as a commercial country, and it is recorded that a vessel has made the voyage to Malacca. In China their vessels go to Fochien, which they call Wheit-yen, and sometimes to Peking. Commerce between Japan and Loo Choo is conducted entirely in Japanese vessels, which bring hemp, iron, copper, pewter, cotton, culinary utensils, lacquered furniture, excellent hones, and occasionally rice; though this article when wanted is generally supplied from an island to the northward belonging to Loo Choo, called Ooshima, but this is only required in dry seasons. The exports of Loo Choo are salt, grain, tobacco, samshew spirit, rice, when sufficiently plentiful, grass hemp, of which their clothes are made, hemp, and cotton. In return for these they bring from China different kinds of porcelain, glass, furniture, medicines, silver, iron, silks, nails, tiles, tools, and tea, as that grown upon Loo Choo is of an inferior quality. Several other articles of both export and import are mentioned by Supao-Koang, such as gold and silver from Formosa, and iron from China; among the former, mother of pearl, tortoise shell, bezoar stone and excellent hones. The last-mentioned articles, however, if found in Loo Choo, are certainly not very plentiful, as they are carried thither from Japan; and An-yah denied there being any mother of pearl there. This trade is conducted in two junks belonging to Loo Choo, which go annually to China; and they have besides these their tribute vessel.

The trade with Japan appears formerly to have been limited at 125 *thaits* (tael of Canton), beyond which nothing was allowed to be sold. The goods carried to that country consisted of silks and other stuffs, with Chinese commodities, and the produce of their own country, such as corn, rice, pulse, fruits, spirits, mother of pearl, cowries, and large flat shells, which are so transparent that they are used in Japan for windows instead of glass.*

Their manufactures do not appear to be numerous, and are probably only such as are necessary for their own convenience. I have spoken of the rude hand-loom in use, the spinning-wheel, and the mills worked by cattle; these were the only machines we saw, though it may be inferred they have others. A short distance to the southward of Napa-kiang I was told there was a paper manufactory, and had a quantity of paper given me said to have been made there. It closely resembled that of China, but appeared to be more woolly. Grass-cloth, of a coarse texture, and coarse cottons are also wove upon the island; but I believe all the finer ones come from China, as well as the broad cloth of which their cloaks are made. Red pottery moderately good, a bad porcelain, and tiles, are among their manufactures, and also paper fans, of which the skeleton is bamboo; pipes, hair pins, and wicker baskets, and two sorts of spirits distilled from grain; moroofocoo already described; and another called sackee, resembling the samsheu of China; salt, from the natural deposition of the sea, is collected in pans.

Supao-Koang mentions, among the manufactures of this country, silk, arms, brass, instruments, gold, and

* Kempfer's History of Japan, p. 381.

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silver ornaments, a paper even thicker than that of Corea, made of *les cocons*, and another made of bamboo, besides that manufactured from the bark of the paper tree. He states they have woods fit for dyes, and particularly esteem one made from a tree, the leaves of which resemble those of the citron tree; and mentions brass, pewter, saddles, bridles, and sheaths as being manufactured with considerable taste and neatness upon the island, and as forming part of the tribute to China, from which it might be inferred that they were better executed than those in Pekin.

Previous to our departure I offered An-yah a patent corn-mill and a winnowing machine, and showed him the use of them. He was extremely thankful for them at first, but after a little consideration he declined the present, without assigning any reason. He probably imagined the introduction of foreign machinery might be disapproved by his superiors.

It has been observed that drums and tambourines were the only musical instruments among these people; we saw a flute, and were told that the inhabitants possessed violins and other stringed instruments; yet they do not appear to be a musical nation.

Among our numerous inquiries there was not one to which we got such contradictory answers as that concerning the residence of the king of Loo Choo. It was evident that there was a person of very high authority upon the island, whom they styled *wang*, which in Dr. Morrison's Dictionary is translated king, and that his residence was not far from Napa-kiang; but An-yah provoked me much by always evading this question. Sometimes he said it was four days to the north-east, at others that it was only one, and at last that it was at a place called Sheui, or Shoodi. Some

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of the natives who were interrogated on this subject declared it was at *Eg-goo-see-coo*, about nine leagues to the northward; others, however, told me the name of his residence was *Shoodi*, or *Sheui*, as before. Mr. Collie was also informed it was at *Shoodi*; therefore, *Sheui*, or *Shoodi*, is in all probability the correct name of the place. As the natives pointed out to me the town upon the hill at the back of *Napa-kiang* as *Shoodi*, and as another party named it to Mr. Collie *Shumi*, we may presume that this town is the capital of *Loo Choo*; and this is the conclusion, as already remarked, that Captain Hall came to, after many inquiries on the same subject. Indeed I should think there could not be much doubt about it, as it answers very well both in name and position to the capital described by *Supao-Koang*, who remarks that the king holds his court in the south-west part of the island. The ground it stands upon is called *Cheuli*,* and that near this place the palace of the king is situated upon a hill. In another part he says that the space between *Napa-kiang* and the palace is almost one continued town.† Mr. Klaproth, however, has published extracts from some Chinese documents, which place the capital twenty *lis* (ten miles?) east of *Napa-kiang*.

In the journals of my officers, I find that some of them were informed by the inhabitants that tribute was sent to China only once in seven years, and others, that it was paid every year. Kämpfer also says that tribute is sent every year to the Tartarian monarch, in token of submission. By the Chinese accounts it is demanded every second year, as I have already stated.

* *Cheuli* by the *Loo Chooans* would be pronounced *Choo-di*, in the same way as they call *Loo-Choo Doo-Choo*.

† *Lettres Edifiantes*, p. 340.

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M. J. Klaproth, quoting one of these authors, says, in 1654 Loo Choo sent Chang-Chy, the king's son, with an ambassador to Pekin, when it was arranged that every *second* year an ambassador should be sent to that court with tribute, which should consist of 3,000 lbs. of copper, 12,600 lbs. of sulphur, and 3,000 lbs. of a strong silk; and that the number of his suite should not exceed a hundred and fifty persons.

Lord Macartney, when on his embassy to the court of China, met the mandarins from Loo Choo, who were going with this tribute to Pekin, and who informed him their chief sent delegates every *two years* to offer tribute.* And when we were at Loo Choo, both Ching-oong-choo and An-yah informed me to the same effect, viz. that it was sent every second year. We may therefore conclude, that this is the period agreed upon between the two countries.

M. Klaproth, p. 164, informs us, that notwithstanding tribute is paid to the court of China, Loo Choo is also compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of Japan, to send ambassadors there from time to time, and to pay tribute in swords, horses, a species of perfume, ambergris, vases for perfumes, and a sort of stuff, a texture manufactured from the bark of trees, lacquered tables inlaid with shells or mother of pearl, and madder, &c. I shall merely observe upon this passage, that some of the articles which are said to be carried as tribute to Japan are actually taken from thence, and from China to Loo Choo, such as the vases and lacquered tables; and that mother of pearl is said by the natives not to be found upon the shores of their island.

* Embassy to China, by Sir George Staunton, vol. ii. p. 469.

The highest point of Loo Choo which we saw was a hill situated at the back of Barrow's Bay, in about the latitude of $26^{\circ} 27'$ N., answering in position nearly to a mountain which appears on the chart of Mr. Klapproth, under the name of Onnodake. The height of this mountain is 1089 feet. The next highest point to this, which was visible from the anchorage, was the summit of the hill of Sumar, on which the capital is built; the highest point of this is $540\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Abbey Point is $98\frac{1}{2}$, and a bluff to the northward of Potsoong $99\frac{1}{4}$ feet. The Sugar-Loaf (Ee-goo-see-coo) was too far distant for us to determine its height; but I think Mr. Klapproth is wrong in saying it may be seen twenty-five sea leagues, as our distance from it was only ten leagues, and it was scarcely above the horizon.* It is certainly not so high as Onnodake, which, to a person at the surface of the sea, would be just visible at the distance of thirty-four miles. He is also mistaken in supposing it the only peak on the island.

These heights appear to be gained by ascents of moderate elevation only. In no part did we perceive any hills so abrupt that they could not be turned to account by the agriculturist. The centre of the island, or perhaps a line drawn a little to the westward of it, is the most elevated part of the country. Still the island is not divided by a ridge, but by a number of rounded eminences, for the most part of the same elevation, with valleys between them; so that when viewed at a distance the island appears to have a very level surface. In a Chinese plan of Loo Choo all these eminences are occupied by palaces and by courts of the king. The higher parts of the island are, in general, surmounted by trees, generally of the *pinus mass*.

* Klapproth's *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, tom. ii, p. 173.

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soniana, and the cyas; though they are sometimes bare, or at most clothed with a diminutive and useless vegetation. It not unfrequently happens that small precipices occur near the summits of the hills, and that large blocks of a coral-like substance are seen lying as if they had been left there by the sea. This substance, of which all the rocky parts of the island that we examined were composed, is a cellular or granular limestone, bearing a great resemblance to coral, for which it might easily be mistaken. It has a very rugged surface, not unlike *silex macière*. Lieutenant Belcher found sandstone of a loose texture, enclosing balls of blue marl, and in one instance interstratified with it in alternate seams with the coral formation. This formation constituted part of a reef, dry at low water. In the marl he found cylindrical and elongated cones, similar to the belemnite, of a light colour, and occasionally crystallizations of calcareous spar.

The precipices inland, as well as those which form cliffs upon the coast, are hollowed out beneath, as if they had been subjected to the action of the waves. Upon the sea-coast this has no doubt been the case, and the Capstan Rock, spoken of before, presents a curious instance of its effect; but it is not quite so evident that the sea has reached the cliffs near Abbey Point, as they are separated from it by a plain covered with vegetation, and the violence of the waves is broken by reefs which lie far outside them.

The soil in the vicinity of Napa-kiang is generally arenaceous and marly, but to the south-east of Abbey Point there is a stratum of clay, which, in consequence of its retaining moisture better than other parts of the soil, is appropriated to the cultivation of rice.

The greater part of the island is surrounded by reefs

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of coral. These are of two sorts; one in which the animals have ceased to exist, and the other which is still occupied by them. Both are darker-coloured than the reefs in the middle of the Pacific, owing, probably, to the various depositions which the rains have washed from the land. The shells found upon them are very much incrustated. About eight miles to the northward of Napa-kiang there is a deep bay, the shores of which are very flat, and have been converted into salt-pans by the natives. A river which appears to have its rise near the capital, after passing at the back of some hills, about five miles inland, empties itself into this bay. There is also another stream at Potsoong. The natives would not permit us to ascertain how far inland the water flowed up the harbour; nor would they inform us whether it was a division of the island, as its appearance induced us to suppose. In the Chinese plan already alluded to, the island is divided by such a channel; but it is doubtful whether this division may not be intended for the channel which separates Loo Choo from the Madjico-sima group, as the island to the southward has *Ta-ping-chan* written upon it, and there is a small island close to the eastward of it called *Little Lew-Kew*.* The relative positions of these are correctly given in the plan, but, if intended for those places, there is an egregious violation of all distance and proportion.

It has been already mentioned that the vegetable productions of the torrid and temperate zones are here found combined. The palmæ, *boerhaavia*, *scaevola*, *ournefortia*, and other trees and shrubs recall the

* Formosa, notwithstanding its is considerably larger than Loo Choo, was called *Little Lieou-Kieou*, from there being so few inhabitants upon it. — *Recueil de P. Gaubil*.

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Coral Islands of the tropical regions to our view, while the rosaceæ, onagrarizæ, etc. remind us of the temperate shores of our own continent. The remarkable genus of *clerodendrum* is here peculiarly abundant. Among the trees and shrubs which adorn the heights, the bamboo, *hibiscus tiliaceus*, *thespesia popularis*, *hibiscus rosa sinensis*, *pandanus*, *piscidium*, and several other trees and shrubs, some of which were new to us, were found uniting their graceful foliage; while in the gardens we noticed plantain, banana, fig, and orange trees, though the latter were apparently very scarce. We were told that they had pomegranates, but that they had neither pine-apples, plums, nor litchés, though they were perfectly acquainted with them all. The litché is a fruit which is said to be peculiar to China; indeed Père J. B. Duhalde, in his *Description de la Chine*, vol. i. p. 104, says it grows only in two provinces of that great empire, Quang-tong, and Fokien. Père Gaubil, however, affirms that it is at Loo Choo, and that there are also there citrons, lemons, raisins, plums, apples, and pears, none of which we saw.

We were informed that the tea plant was tolerably abundant, and that the mild and excellent tobacco which was brought on board was the growth of the island. Gaubil affirms they have ginger, and a wood which they burn as incense, as well as camphor trees, cedars, laurels, and pines. Among the vegetable productions the sweet potatoe appears to be the most plentiful; the climate seemed so favourable to its growth, that we observed the tops rising from a soil composed almost entirely of sand. Both the root and the leaf are eaten by the natives.

The soil appears to be cultivated entirely with the hoe, and there are very few places on which this kind

of labour has not been destroyed. Streams of water are not very abundant, and it is highly interesting to notice the manner in which the inhabitants have turned those which they possess to the greatest advantage, by conducting them in troughs from place to place, and at last allowing them to overflow flat places near the beach, for the purpose of raising rice and taro, which require a soil constantly wet.

The principal animals which we saw at Loo Choo were bullocks, horses, asses, goats, pigs, and cats; all of very diminutive size: a bullock which was brought to us weighed only 100 lbs. without the offal; and the horses were so low that a tall person had difficulty in keeping his feet off the ground; yet these animals must be esteemed in Japan, as they are said to have formed part of the tribute to that place. The poultry are also small: we heard dogs, but never saw any. Klaproth, p. 187, asserts there are bears, wolves, and jackals. A venomous snake is also said to exist in the interior. But the only other animals we saw were mice, lizards, and frogs; the latter somewhat different to those of our own country.

The insects are grasshoppers, dragon-flies, butterflies, honey-bees, wasps, mosquitos of a large size, spiders, and a mantis, probably peculiar to the island.

There appeared to be very few birds, and of these we could procure no specimens, in consequence of the great objection on the part of the natives to our firing at them, arising probably from their belief in transubstantiation. Those which we observed at a distance resembled larks, martins, wood-pigeons, beach-plovers, ringas, herons, and tern. An-yah said there were no cartridges in the island.

Fish are more abundant though not large, except

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ing sharks and dolphins, which are taken at sea, and guard-fish, which are often seen in the harbour. Those frequenting the reefs belong principally to the genera *chætodon* and *labrus*. A *chromis*, a beautiful small fish, was noticed in the waters which inundated the rice fields.

Upon the reefs are several *asteriæ*. These animals are furnished with long spiny tentaculæ, and are in the habit of concealing their bodies in the hollow parts of the coral, and leaving their tentaculæ to be washed about and partake of the waving motion of the sea; and to a person unacquainted with the zoophytes which form the coral, they might be supposed to be the animals connected with its structure. Lieutenant Belcher remarks of these reefs that a great change must have taken place in them since they were visited by the *Alceste* and *Lyra*, as he never observed any coral reefs apparently so destitute of animation as those which surround Loo Choo. The sea anemone and other zoophytes were very scarce.

We saw no shells of any value. A few *cardium*, *trochus*, and *strombus* were brought me by An-yah, and the *haliotis* was seen on the beach; but the history of this island states that the mother of pearl, large flat shells nearly transparent, and cowries, formed part of the tribute to Japan. An-yah, however, assured me there were no pearl shells upon the coast.

The Climate of Loo Choo must be very mild, from the nature of the dwelling-houses and the dress of the people; the mean temperature of the air, for the fortnight which we passed in the harbour, was 70°. Unlike the *Typha*, we here experienced no great transitions, but an almost uniform temperature, which dissipated all the sickness the *Typha* had occasioned. We

had, however, a good deal of rain in this time, which was about the change of the monsoon. By An-yah's account this island is occasionally visited by violent ta-foongs (mighty-winds), which unroof the houses and destroy the crops, and do other damage. They had experienced one, only the month previous to our arrival, which we were told had destroyed a great deal of rice, and was the cause of so many Japanese vessels being in the port. In 1708 it appears that one of these hurricanes did incalculable mischief, and occasioned much misery. The inhabitants seem to entertain a great dread of famine, and it is not improbable that these ta-foongs may occasion the evil. April, May, June, July, August, and September are the months in which these winds are liable to occur.

The harbour of Napa-kiang, though open to winds from the north, by the west to south-west is very secure, provided ships anchor in the Barnpool; a bay formed by the coral, to the northward of the Capstan Rock. In the outer anchorage, at high water, there is sometimes a considerable swell; and were it to blow hard from the westward at the time of the spring tides I have no doubt it would be sensibly felt. The reefs which afford protection to the harbour are scarcely above the sea at low water neap tides, and some remain wholly covered. In general they are much broken, and have many knolls in their vicinity, which ought to make ships cautious how they stand towards them. There are two entrances to the outer harbour, one from the northward, and the other from the westward. The former is narrow, and has several dangerous rocks in the channel, which, as they are not in general visible, are very likely to prove injurious to vessels; and as it can seldom happen that there is a

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necessity for entering the harbour in that direction, the passage ought to be avoided. The western entrance is divided into two channels by a coral bank, with only seven feet water upon it, which, as it was discovered by the Blossom, I named after that ship. The passage on either side this rock may be made use of as convenient; but that to the southward is preferable with southerly winds and flood tides, and the other with the reverse. A small hillock to the left of a cluster of trees on the distant land, in the direction of Mount Onnodake, open about 4^b to the eastward of a remarkable headland to the northward of Potsoong, will lead through the south channel; and the Capstan Rock, with the highest part of the hill over Napa-kiang, which has the appearance of a small cluster of trees, will lead close over the north end of Blossom Rock. This notice of the dangers of entering the harbour will be sufficient in this place, and if vessels are not provided with a chart, or require further directions, it will be prudent to anchor a boat upon the rock.

Though the inhabitants of Loo Choo show so much anxiety for charts, they do not appear to have profited much by those which have been given to them, nor by those published in China and Japan. Their knowledge of geography is indeed extremely limited, and, with the exception of the islands and places with which they trade, they may be said to be almost ignorant of the geography of every other part of the globe. I did not omit to inquire about Ginsima, Kinsima, and Boninsjima, islands which were supposed to exist at no great distance to the eastward of Loo Choo. The two first have never been seen since their discovery, but the other group has long been known to Japan;

and if we can credit the charts of the Japanese, it has been inhabited some time, as several villages and temples are marked therein. The Loo Chooans, however, could give me no information of it, or of any other islands lying to the eastward of their own, and were quite surprised at hearing a Japanese vessel* had been cast away upon an island in that direction.

The groups of islands seen in the distance to the westward of Loo Choo are called by the natives Kirrama and Agoognee. Kirrama consists of four islands, Zammamee, Accar, Ghirooma, and Toocastchee, of which all but the last are very small. Agoognee consists of two small islands, Aghee and Homar. Both groups are peopled from and are subject to Loo Choo. Kirrama has four mandarins, one of the higher order, and three inferior; and Agoognee two of the latter. The islands are very scantily peopled: in Toocastchee, which is the largest, there are but five hundred houses. The small coral islands off Napa-kiang are called Tzee.

To the northward of Loo Choo there are two islands, from which supplies are occasionally received; Ooshima,† of which I have spoken before as being subject to Loo Choo, and Yacoo-chima, a colony of Japan. Ooshima produces an abundance of rice, and as in dry seasons in Loo Choo this valuable grain sometimes fails, Yacoo-chima junks, which appear to be the great carriers to Loo Choo, go there and load. Yacoo-chima is said to be an island of great extent, but the chart which An-yah drew to show its situation

* See Kämpfer's History of Japan.

† Probably O-foushima of Supao-Koang, situated in latitude 20° N.

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was too rude for me even to conjecture which of the islands belonging to Japan it might be.

In my narrative of Loo Choo I have made allusion to the works of several Chinese and Japanese authors,* who have written upon that island. As their accounts generally wear the appearance of truth, and as they are the only records we have of the early history of a country so little visited by Europeans, I shall give a sketch of them, that my reader may become acquainted with what is known of the history of that remote country, without having to search different books, only one of which has as yet been published in England.

The inhabitants of Loo Choo are extremely jealous of their antiquity as a nation. They trace their descent from a male and a female, who were named Omo-mey-keiou, who had three sons and two daughters. The eldest of these boys was named Tien sun (or the grandson of heaven). He was afterwards the first king of Loo Choo, and from the first year of his reign to the first of that of Chun-tien, who ascended the throne A. D. 1187, they reckon a period of no less than 17,802 years. The kings were supposed to be descended from the eldest son, the nobility from the second, and the commoners from the youngest. The eldest daughter was named Kun-kun, and had the title of Spirit of Heaven; the other, named Tchotcho, was called the Spirit of the Ocean.

* The works of these authors will be found in *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, tom. xxiii. 1811; *Grosier sur la Chine*, tom. ii.; *M. J. Klaproth, Memoires sur la Chine*; *Kämpfer's History of Japan*, vol. i.; *P. J. B. Duhalde*. For other information on Loo Choo, the reader is referred to the *Voyages of Benyowsky*, *Broughton*, and of *H. M. ships Alceste and Lyra*.

We are told that five-and-twenty dynasties successively occupied the throne of Loo Choo, from the death of Tien-sun to the reign of Chun-tien; but nothing further was known of the history of the country until the year A. D. 605, when the Emperor of China, of the dynasty of "Soui," being informed there were some islands to the eastward of his dominions named Loo Choo, became desirous of reconnoitring their situation, and of becoming acquainted with the resources of the islands. He accordingly fitted out an expedition, but it did not effect what the emperor desired. It, however, brought back a few natives; and an ambassador from Japan happening to be at the court of China at that time, informed the emperor that these people belonged to Loo Choo, and described their island as being poor and miserable, and the inhabitants as barbarians. Being informed that in five days a vessel could go from his dominions to the residence of the king of these islands, the emperor, Yang-tee, sent some learned men with interpreters to Loo Choo to obtain information, and to signify to the king that he must acknowledge the sovereignty of the Emperor of China, and do him homage. This embassy succeeded in reaching its destination, but, as might have been expected from the ruler of an independent people, it was badly received, and was obliged to return with the haughty answer to their sovereign, that the prince of Loo Choo would acknowledge no chief superior to himself. Indignant at being thus treated by a people who had been described as barbarians, he put ten thousand experienced troops on board his junks, and made a successful descent upon the Great Loo Choo. The king, who appears to have been a man of great courage, placed himself at the

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head of his troops, and disputed the ground with the Chinese ; but unfortunately he was killed ; his troops gave way ; and the victorious invaders, after pillaging and setting fire to the royal abode, and making five thousand slaves, returned to China.

It is said that at this time the inhabitants of Loo Choo had neither letters nor characters, and that all classes of society, even the king himself, lived in the most simple manner. It does not, however, appear that the people were entitled to the appellation of barbarians, which was given to them by the ambassador of Japan in China, nor that they merited the title of *poor devils*, which the word lieu-kieu implies in Japanese ; as they had fixed laws for marriages and interments, and paid great respect to their ancestors and other departed friends ; and they had other well regulated institutions which fully relieved them from the charge of barbarism. Their country was not so poor nor so destitute of valuable productions, or even of manufactures, but that Chinese merchants were glad to open a trade with it, and to continue it through five dynasties which successively ruled in China after the conquest of Loo Choo, notwithstanding the indifference of the emperors who, during that period, ceased to exact the tribute that had been made to their predecessors. It is not improbable, therefore, that this stigma, which ought properly to belong to Formosa—which, though a much larger island, was then called Little Loo Choo—may have been attached to the island we visited from the similarity of names.

Chun-tien was said to be descended from the kings of Japan, but it is not known at what period his family settled in Loo Choo. Before he came to the throne, he was governor of the town of Potien. On

his accession his title was disputed by a nobleman named Li-yong; but he being defeated and killed, Chun-tien was acknowledged King of Loo Choo by the people. Having reigned fifty-one years, and bestowed many benefits upon his subjects, whose happiness was his principal care, he died at the age of seventy-two. In this reign reading and writing are said to have been first introduced from Japan, the character being that of Y-rofa.

Very little mention is made of the son and successor of Chun-tien; but the reign of his grandson Y-pen is marked by the occurrence of a famine and a plague, which nearly desolated the island; and by his abdication in favour of any person whom the people might appoint to succeed him. The choice fell upon Ynt-sou, the governor of a small town; but the king, desirous of ascertaining whether he was a competent person to succeed him, first made him prime minister; and being at length satisfied that the choice of the people was judicious, he abdicated in his favour, reserving a very moderate provision for himself and family. Ynt-sou ascended the throne A. D. 1260, and reigned forty years. He is said to have been the first to levy taxes, and to have introduced useful regulations for the cultivation of the soil. In his reign Ta-tao, Kiki-ai, and other islands to the north-east and north-west came under the dominion of Loo Choo. This reign was also marked by an attempt of the Emperor of China to renew his demand of tribute, which had not been made for so many generations that the Loo Chooans began to consider themselves absolved from the obligation. The Emperor of China, however, determining not to relinquish the advantages which had been gained by his predecessor Yang-ti, equipped a

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fleet for the purpose of compelling payment; but about this time China having suffered a serious defeat from the Japanese, and from the kingdoms of Tonquin and Cochin China, and lost 100,000 men in her expeditions against those places, disaffection spread throughout the troops, and the expedition returned without even having reached its destination.

Ynt-sou was succeeded by his son Ta-tchin, who was followed by his son Ynt-see, two princes much esteemed for their wisdom and benevolence. Not so Yut-ching, a prince of avaricious and voluptuous disposition, who ascended the throne of his father in 1314; during whose reign the state fell into considerable disorder. The governor of Keng-koay-gin revolted and declared himself King of Chanpe, the northern province of the island. The governor of Tali also revolted, and became king of the southern province Chan-nan, leaving Yut-ching to govern only the centre of the island, which was called Tchong-chan. Thus was this island, not sixty miles in length, divided into three independent kingdoms. The greatest animosity prevailed between these three principalities; and long and bloody wars ensued. About sixty years after the country had been thus divided, Tsay-tou, a prince beloved by his people and esteemed for his valour, came to the throne of the middle province. It was in his reign that Hong-vou, the Emperor of China, renewed overtures of protection; and the embassy which he sent to the court of Tsay-tou acquitted itself so creditably, that the offer was accepted. The kings of the other districts of Loo Choo were no sooner apprised of the conduct of Tsay-tou, than they also put themselves under the protection of China; and thus Loo Choo once more became tributary to the Celestial Empire.

The Emperor Hong-you was so much pleased with this conduct of the kings of Loo Choo, that he sent them large presents of iron, porcelain, and other articles which he knew to be scarce in their dominions; and also settled in the middle province thirty-six families from Fochien, who established themselves at a place called Kūmi, a little to the northward of Napa-kiang. These people introduced into Loo Choo the Chinese written character, and ceremonies in honour of Confucius. On the other hand, the kings of Loo Choo sent several youths to Pekin, among whom were the sons and brothers of Tsay-tou, who were educated and brought up at the expense of the emperor.

The best understanding now existed between the kings of Loo Choo and the court of China; and while the emperor was receiving ambassadors from Loo Choo, that country had the satisfaction of seeing several islands to the northward and southward of its own position added to its dominions. On the death of Tsay-tou, which happened in 1396, his son Au-ning was installed king by the emperor in the place of his father. He reigned ten years, and was succeeded by his son Is-tchao. The reigns of these two princes were not distinguished by any remarkable events; but that of her successor, Chang-patché, will ever be remembered by the Loo Chooans from the advantageous union of the free provinces, which for nearly a century had been agitated by a continued state of warfare; and from the estimation in which the king of the island was held by Suent-song, then Emperor of China, who made him large presents of silver, and bestowed upon him the title of *Chang*, which has ever since been the patronymic of the royal family of Loo Choo.

The three following reigns present no occurrences

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worthy of notice. In 1454, the Chang-tai-kieou ascended the throne amidst difficulties and disaffection. His ambitious brother disputed the elevated rank he had obtained, and enlisted in his cause so powerful a body of the islanders, that the king was defeated, his palace burned, and his magazines reduced to ashes. In this state of affairs he solicited the protection of the Emperor of China, who readily assisted him; and not only restored tranquillity to the island by his interference, but caused the king to be remunerated for all his losses.

The commerce of Loo Choo with China afterwards daily increased; and under the reign of this prince so great a trade was carried on between the two countries, that the provinces of Tche-kiang and Fochien were distressed by the quantity of silver and copper coin that was carried away to Loo Choo. The people even complained to the Emperor of the scarcity, who ordered that in future the trade between these two places should be confined within certain limits.

After a short reign of seven years, Chang-tai-kieou was succeeded by his son Chang-te, a prince whose name was rendered odious by the acts of cruelty he committed, and who was so much detested, that after his death the people refused to acknowledge as king the person whom he had appointed to succeed him; and elected in his stead Chan-y-ven, a nobleman of the island of Yo-pi-chan. Though the reign of this prince is distinguished in history only by the regulation of the number of persons who should accompany the ambassadors to Peking, yet he is said to have been a great prince. His son, Chang-tching, was a minor at the death of his father, and his paternal uncle was chosen to be his protector. In this reign Loo

Choo became a comparatively great commercial nation. Many vessels were sent to Formosa, to the coasts of Bungo, Fionga, Satzuma, Corea, and other places. Her vessels became the carriers of Japanese produce to China, and vice versâ; and one of them even made the voyage to Malacca.

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By this extensive trade, and by being the entrepôt between the two empires of China and Japan, Loo Choo increased in wealth and rose into notice; especially as it was found convenient by both these two great nations to have a mediator on any differences arising between them. The advantage thus derived by Loo Choo was particularly manifested on the occasion of a remonstrance on the part of China against robberies and piracies committed upon the shores of that country by a prodigious number of vessels manned by resolute and determined seamen, principally Japanese, who landed upon all parts of the coast, and spread consternation along the whole of the western shore of the Yellow Sea, even down to Canton. The Emperor of China on this occasion sent ambassadors to Loo Choo; and a representation was made to the Court of Japan of the numerous piracies committed in the dominions of the Emperor of China by the subjects of that country; and succeeded so far that the sovereign of Japan gave up to the King of Loo Choo a number of vessels and slaves which had been captured; but as none of these marauding vessels had been fitted out by his command, and as they were the property of individuals over whom he had no control, it was out of his power to put a stop to the depredations. The Emperor of China rewarded the King of Loo Choo for this important service by sending him large presents of silk, porcelain, and silver, and brass money; and

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granted to his subjects very great privileges in their commercial transactions with China.

The Japanese pirates, among which there were a great many vessels manned by Chinese, continued their depredations in spite of the efforts and remonstrances of the Emperor of China; and latterly occasioned such alarm in that country, that the famous Tay-Cosama, who was then secular ruler of Japan, determined to avail himself of the panic, and premeditated an attack upon the coast of that mighty empire. It was necessary to the success of this bold enterprise that the assault should be conducted with the utmost secrecy; and Tay-Cosama, fearing that the frequent intercourse between China and Loo Choo, which country could not remain in ignorance of the preparations, might be the means of divulging his intentions to China, sent ambassadors to Chang-ning, who was then King of Loo Choo, haughtily forbidding him to pay tribute to China, and desiring him to acknowledge no other sovereign than that of Japan. It is said that he also sent similar notices to the governor of the Philippines, to the King of Siam, and to the Europeans in India.

Chang-ning, however, was not easily intimidated, and remained deaf to the menaces of the Emperor of Japan. He saw through the designs of Tay-Cosama; and by means of a rich Chinese merchant, who happened to be at Napa-kiang at that time, he apprised Ouan-li, then Emperor of China, of his designs. Ouan-li immediately increased his army, fortified his coasts, and made every preparation for a vigorous defence against the invading army of Japan, whenever it might arrive. He also apprised Corea of the danger with which that state was threatened; but the king,

misled probably by the designing Emperor of Japan, and imagining the immense preparations making by that prince were intended for the invasion of China, neglected to strengthen his defences, and was at length surprised by the Japanese, who invaded his dominions.

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Chang-ning, notwithstanding the invasion with which he was also threatened, continued his tribute to China; and Ouan-li received his ambassadors with the greatest possible respect, and rewarded their sovereign for his fidelity. Some years after, in 1610, the Japanese renewed their menaces against Chang-ning, who, as on the former occasion, acquainted the Emperor of China with his situation, and implored assistance; but China at that time was fully occupied with her own troubles, and unable to render him any service. In this state of things, a nobleman of Loo Choo, named King-tchang, taking advantage of the situation of Chang-ning, revolted, and retired to Satzuma, where he fitted out an expedition consisting of 3000 Japanese, and took Chang-ning prisoner, killed his father, Tching-hoey, because he would not acknowledge his dependency to Japan, pillaged the royal palace, and carried away the king prisoner to Satzuma.

The conduct of the King of Loo Choo throughout all these disturbances is said to have been so magnanimous and spirited, that it even appeased King-tchang, and prepossessed the Japanese so much in his favour, that after two years' captivity they restored him to his throne with honour. He was scarcely reinstated, when, always faithful to China, notwithstanding the danger he had escaped, and the helpless condition of the emperor, he sent ambassadors to that country to

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declare his submission as heretofore; and to apprise the emperor of an attack which was intended to be made on Formosa by the Japanese, who had conceived the project of reinstating themselves in that country, and fortifying their settlements there.

Chang-ning left no son to succeed him; and Chang-yong, a descendant of the brother of his predecessor, was installed by the Emperor of China in his stead. This prince, notwithstanding the unsettled state of affairs, and the danger he had to apprehend from Japan, paid the usual tribute to China, and introduced into his country from thence the manufacture of delft-ware, and an inferior kind of porcelain.

About eighty years afterwards, A.D. 1643, the famous revolution occurred in China, which fixed the Tartar dynasty on the throne of that empire; and Chang-tché, who at that time was King of Loo Choo, sent ambassadors to pay homage to the new sovereign; when King Chang-tché received a sign manual from the Tartar monarch, directing that Loo Choo should not pay tribute oftener than once in two years, and that the number of the embassy should not exceed a hundred and fifty persons.

In 1663 the great Emperor Kang-hi succeeded to the throne of China, and received the tribute of Chang-tché on the occasion. This magnanimous prince sent large presents of his own to the King of Loo Choo, in addition to some of an equally superb quality which were intended for that country by his father. His ambassadors passed over to Loo Choo, and according to custom, confirmed the king in his sovereignty, the ceremony on this occasion being distinguished by additional grandeur and solemnity.

Kang-hi, probably foreseeing the advantages to be

derived from an alliance with Loo Choo, which had so long continued faithful to the empire of China, turned his attention to the improvement of the country with great earnestness and perseverance. He built a palace there in honour of Confucius, and a college for the instruction of youth in the use of the Chinese character, and established examinations for different branches of literature. Several natives of Loo Choo were sent to Peking, and educated at the expense of the emperor, among whom was the king's son. The tribute was better adapted to the means of the people; and those articles only, which were either the produce of the soil, or the manufactures of the country, were in future to be sent to Peking for this purpose. In short, Kang-hi lost no opportunity of gaining the friendship and esteem of his subjects. On the occasion of great distress in Loo Choo, which occurred in 1708, when the palace of the king was burned, and hurricanes did incalculable mischief, and when the people were dying daily with contagious diseases, Kang-hi used every endeavour to mitigate their distress, and, by his humanity and generosity, secured to himself the lasting gratitude of the inhabitants of Loo Choo.

In 1719 he sent Supao-koang, a learned physician, to make himself acquainted with the nature and productions of the island, and to inform himself of every particular concerning the government and the people. Since that period nothing is mentioned of Loo Choo in Chinese history, beyond the periodical payment of the tribute, and the arrival of ambassadors from that country at the court of Peking.

In 1771 the well-known Count Benyowsky touched

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at an island belonging to Loo Choo, named Usmay-Ligon, where he found that almost all the inhabitants had been converted to Christianity by a jesuit missionary. If we can credit his statement, he was treated by the natives with the greatest hospitality and unreserve. Contrary to the custom of the eastern Asiatic nations, these people brought their daughters to the count and his associates, and pressed them to select wives from among them. In short, the conduct of the inhabitants is described as being so engaging, that some of Benyowsky's crew determined to remain with them, and were actually left behind when the count put to sea. And the natives, on the other hand, are asserted to have been so attached to their visitors, that they made them promise to return and form a settlement among them, and signed a treaty of friendship with the count. This veracious traveller found muskets with matchlocks in use with these people; and to add to their means of defence, on his departure he presented them with 80 muskets of his own, 600 swords, and 600 pikes, besides 20 barrels of powder and 10 barrels of musket-balls.

Loo Choo in 1796 was visited by Captain Broughton; and in 1803 by the ship Frederick of Calcutta, which made an unsuccessful effort to dispose of her cargo. The inhabitants on both these occasions were, as usual, extremely civil and polite, but resisted every attempt at opening a commerce. The next mention of this interesting island is in the well-known publications of Captain Basil Hall and of Mr. McCleod, the surgeon of the Alceste.

Thus Loo Choo, like almost every other nation, has been disturbed by civil wars, and the state has

been endangered by foreign invasion: her towns have been plundered, her palaces consumed, and her citizens carried into captivity. Situated between the empires of China and Japan, she has been mixed up with their quarrels, and made subservient to the interests of both; at one time suffering all the miseries of invasion, and at another acting as a mediator. Allied by preference to China, and by fear and necessity, from her proximity, to Japan, she is obliged, to avoid jealousy, to pay tribute to both, though that to the latter country is said to be furnished by the merchants who are most interested in the trade to that empire. Their conduct to strangers who have touched at their ports has ever been uniformly polite and hospitable; but they would rather be exempt from such friendly visits: and though extremely desirous of obtaining European manufactures, particularly cloth, hosiery, and cutlery, they would oppose any open attempt to introduce them. The most likely means of establishing a communication with them would be through Chinese merchants at Canton, who might be persuaded to send goods there in their own names, and under the charge of their own countrymen.

Whale-ships have occasionally touched at Loo Choo when distressed for provisions. It is satisfactory to find that these interviews have been conducted without giving offence to the natives. It is to be hoped that any vessel which may hereafter be under the necessity of putting in there will preserve the same conduct, and give the inhabitants no cause to regret having extended their hospitality to foreigners.

I have perhaps entered more minutely upon several questions connected with Loo Choo than may be con-

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sidered necessary, after what has already been given to the public; but it appeared desirable to remove doubts upon several points of interest, which could not perhaps be effectually accomplished without combining my remarks with a short notice of the history of the country.

CHAPTER VI.

Passage from Loo Choo eastward—Arrive at Port Lloyd in the Yslas del Azobispo—Description of those Islands—Passage to Kamtchatka—Arrival at Petropaulski—Notice of that Place—Departure—Pass Beering's Strait—Enter Kotzebue Sound—Prosecute the Voyage to the Northward—Stopped by the Ice—Return to the Southward—Discover Port Clarence and Grantley Harbour—Description of these Harbours—Return to Kotzebue Sound—Ship strikes upon a Shoal.

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ON the 25th of May we took our departure from Loo Choo, and steered to the eastward in search of some islands which were doubtfully placed in the charts. On the third day we arrived within a few miles of the situation of Amsterdam Island without seeing any land, and passed it to the northward, as near as the wind would permit. The weather was very unfavourable for discovery, being thick and rainy, or misty, with very variable winds. On the 3d of June we regretted exceedingly not having clear weather, as the appearance of plover, sandlings, flocks of shearwaters, and several petrel and albatrosses, created a belief that we were near some island.

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Three days afterwards we were upon the spot where the Island of Disappointment is placed in the latest charts. The weather was tolerably clear, but no land could be seen; and as we were so near the situation of a group of islands which, if in existence, would oc-

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cupy several days in examining, I did not wait to search for Disappointment Island, which is said to be very small. I have since been informed that this island, which in all probability is the same as the island of Rosario, was seen by a whaler, who, not being able to find it a second time, bestowed upon it the name of Invisible Island. It is said to lie ninety miles N.W. from port Lloyd, a place which I shall presently notice.

The next evening we reached the situation of the Bonin Islands in Arrowsmith's chart, and the following morning made sail as usual, without seeing any land. We were almost on the point of declaring them invisible also, when, after having stood to the eastward a few hours, we had the satisfaction to descry several islands, extending in a north and south direction as far as the eye could discern. They all appeared to be small, yet they were high and very remarkable; particularly one near the centre, which I named after Captain Kater, V. P. R. S., &c.

As the islands to the southward appeared to be the largest, I proposed to examine them first; and finding they were fertile, and likely to afford good anchorage, Lieutenant Belcher was sent in shore with a boat to search for a harbour. In the evening he returned with a favourable report, and with a supply of fourteen large green turtle.

We stood off and on for the night with very thick weather; and at daylight, when by our reckoning the ship should have been seven miles from the land, we unexpectedly saw the rocks beneath the fog, about a fifth of a mile distant, and had but just room to clear them by going about. The depth of water at the time was sixty fathoms; so that had it been blowing strong

and necessary to anchor, there would have been but an indifferent prospect of holding on any length of time. The great depth of water, and the strong currents which set between the islands must make the navigation near them hazardous during thick weather. On the evening preceding this unexpected event, we found so strong a current setting to the south-west, to windward, that though the ship was lying to, it was necessary frequently to bear away, to prevent being drifted upon the land.

When the fog cleared away on the 9th, we discovered a distant cluster of islands bearing S. 50° E. true: I therefore deferred anchoring in the bay which Lieutenant Belcher had examined the preceding evening, in the hope of being able to examine the newly discovered islands; but finding both current and wind against us, and that the ship could scarcely gain ground in that direction—as there was no time to be lost, I returned to those first discovered. In running along-shore we observed an opening, which, appearing to afford better security than the before-mentioned bay, the master was sent to explore; and returned with the welcome intelligence of having found a secure harbour, in which the ship might remain with all winds.

We were a little surprised, when he came back, to find two strangers in the boat, for he had no idea that these islands had been recently visited, much less that there were any residents upon them; and we concluded that some unfortunate vessel had been cast away upon the island. They proved to be part of the crew of a whale-ship belonging to London, named the *William*. This ship, which had once belonged to his Majesty's service, had been anchored in the harbour in deep water, and in rather an exposed situation (the

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port then not being well known, and had part of her cargo upon deck, when a violent gust of wind from the land drove her from her anchors, and she struck upon a rock in a small bay close to the entrance, where in a short time she went to pieces. All the crew escaped, and established themselves on shore as well as they could, and immediately commenced building a vessel from the wreck of the ship, in which they intended to proceed to Manilla; but before she was completed, another whaler, the *Timor*, arrived, and carried them all way except our two visitors, who remained behind at their own request. They had been several months upon the island, during which time they had not shaved or paid any attention to their dress, and were very odd-looking beings. The master, Thomas Younger, had unfortunately been killed by the fall of a tree fifteen days previous to the loss of the ship, and was buried in a sandy bay on the eastern side of the harbour.

We entered the port and came to an anchor in the upper part of it in eighteen fathoms, almost land-locked. This harbour is situated in the largest island of the cluster, and has its entrance conspicuously marked by a bold high promontory on the southern side, and a tall quoin-shaped rock on the other. It is nearly surrounded by hills, and the plan of it upon paper suggests the idea of its being an extinguished crater. Almost every valley has a stream of water, and the mountains are clothed with trees, among which the areca oleracea and fan-palms are conspicuous. There are several sandy bays, in which green turtle are sometimes so numerous that they quite hide the colour of the shore. The sea yields an abundance of fish; the rocks and caverns are the resort of crayfish

and other shellfish; and the shores are the refuge of pines, plovers, and wild pigeons. At the upper part of the port there is a small basin, formed by coral reefs, conveniently adapted for heaving a ship down; and on the whole it is a most desirable place of resort for a whale-ship. By a board nailed against a tree, it appeared that the port had been entered in September, 1825, by an English ship named the Supply, which I believe to be the first authenticated visit made to the place.

Taking possession of uninhabited islands is now a mere matter of form; still I could not allow so fair an opportunity to escape, and declared them to be the property of the British government by nailing a sheet of copper to a tree, with the necessary particulars engraved upon it. As the harbour had no name, I called it Port Lloyd, out of regard to the late Bishop of Oxford. The island in which it is situated I named after Sir Robert Peel, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department.

As we rowed on shore towards the basin, which, in consequence of there being ten fathoms water all over it, was named Ten Fathom Hole, we were surrounded by sharks so daring and voracious that they bit at the oars and the boat's rudder, and though wounded with the boat-hook returned several times to the attack. At the upper end of Ten Fathom Hole there were a great many green turtle; and the boat's crew were sent to turn some of them for our sea-stock. The sharks, to the number of forty at least, as soon as they observed these animals in confusion, rushed in amongst them, and, to the great danger of our people, endeavoured to seize them by the fins, several of which we noticed to have been bitten off. The turtle

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weighed from three to four hundred-weight each, and were so inactive that, had there been a sufficient number of men, the whole school might have been turned.

Wittrein and his companion, the men whom we found upon the island, were living on the south side of the harbour, in a house built from the plank of the *William*, upon a substantial foundation of copper bolts, procured from the wreck of the ship by burning the timbers. They had a number of fine fat hogs, a well-stocked pigeon-house, and several gardens, in which there were growing pumpkins, water-melons, potatoes, sweet potatoes, and fricoli beans; and they had planted forty cocoa-nuts in other parts of the bay. In such an establishment Wittrein found himself very comfortable, and contemplated getting a wife from the Sandwich Islands; but I am sorry to find that he soon relinquished the idea, and that there is now no person to take care of the garden, which by due management might have become extremely useful to whale ships, the crews of which are often afflicted with scurvy by their arrival at this part of their voyage. The pigs, I have since learned, have become wild and numerous, and will in a short time destroy all the roots, if not the cabbage-trees, which at the time of our visit were in abundance, and, besides being a delicate vegetable, were no doubt an excellent antiscorbutic.

We learned from Wittrein, who had resided eight months upon the island, that in January of 1826 it had been visited by a tremendous storm, and an earthquake which shook the island so violently, and the water at the same time rose so high, that he and his companion, thinking the island about to be swallowed up by the sea, fled to the hills for safety. This gale, which resembled the typhoons in the China sea, began

at north and went round the compass by the westward, blowing all the while with great violence, and tearing up trees by the roots: it destroyed the schooner which the crew of the *William* had begun to build, and washed the cargo of the ship, which since her wreck had been floating about the bay, up into the country. By the appearance of some of the casks, the water must have risen twelve feet above the usual level.*

We were informed that during winter there is much bad weather from the north and north-west; but as summer approaches these winds abate, and are succeeded by others from the southward and south-eastward, which prevail throughout that season, and are generally attended with fine weather, with the exception of fogs, which are very prevalent. Shocks of earthquakes are frequently felt during the winter; and Wittrein and his companion repeatedly observed smoke issuing from the summits of the hills on the island to the northward. Peel island, in which we anchored, is entirely volcanic, and there is every appearance of the others to the northward being of the same formation. They have deep water all round them; and ships must not allow their safety to depend upon the lead, for although bottom may be gained at great depths between some of the islands, yet that is not the case in other directions.

We noticed basaltic columns in several parts of Port Lloyd, and in one place Mr. Collie observed them divided into short lengths as at the Giant's Causeway: he also remarked at the head of the bay in the bed of a small river, from which we filled our water-casks, a

* The seamen affirmed that it rose twenty.

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a sort of tessellated pavement, composed of upright angular columns, placed side by side, each about an inch in diameter, and separated by horizontal fissures. It was the lower part of the Giant's Causeway in miniature. Many of the rocks consisted of tuffaceous basalt of a grayish or greenish hue, frequently traversed by veins of petrosilex; and contained numerous nodules of chalcedony or of cornelian, and *plasma*? The zeolites are not wanting; and the stilbite, in the lamellar foliated form, is abundant. Olivine and hornblende are also common. The drusses were often found containing a watery substance, which had an astringent taste not unlike alum, but I did not succeed in collecting any of it.

The coral animals have raised ledges and reefs of coral round almost all the bays, and have filled up the northern part of the harbour, with the exception of Ten Fathom Hole, which appears to be kept open by streams of water running into it; for it was observed here, that the only accessible part of the beach was at the mouths of these streams.

I have before observed, that the hills about our anchorage were wooded from the water's edge nearly to their summit. There were found among these trees, besides the cabbage and fan-palms, the tamanu of Otaheite, the pandanus odoratissimus, and a species of purau; also some species of laurus, of urtica, the terminalia, dodonæa viscosa, eleocarpus serratis, &c. We collected some of the wood for building boats, and found it answer very well for knees, timbers, &c.

We saw no wild animals of the mammalia class except the vampire bat, which was very tame. Some measured three feet across the wings when fully extended, and were eight or nine in length in the body. We

frequently saw them flying; but they were more fond of climbing about the trees, and hanging by their hind claw, which appears to be their natural position when feeding. Some were observed with their young at their breast, concealed by the wide membrane of their wing. The tongue of this animal is unusually large, and furnished with fleshy papillæ on the upper surface. Here we also found another species of *vespertilio*.

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Of birds we saw some handsome brown herons with white crests; plovers, rails, snipes, wood-pigeons, and the common black crow; a small bird resembling a canary, and a grossbeak. They were very tame, and until alarmed at the noise of a gun suffered themselves to be approached.

The sea abounded in fish, some of which were very beautiful in colour. We noticed the green fish mentioned at Gambier Island, and a gold-coloured fish of the same genus, both extremely splendid in their appearance. A dentex resembling our carp, a small rayfish, and some large eels, one of which weighed twenty pounds, were caught in the fresh water. We took forty-four turtles on board for sea stock, besides consuming two a day while we remained in port, weighing each about three hundred-weight.

The weather during our stay was fine, but oppressively warm; and though we had no rain, the atmosphere was generally saturated with moisture. There was a thick fog to windward of the islands almost the whole of the time; but it dispersed on its passage over the land, and the lee side was generally clear.

While our operations at the port were in progress, Lieutenant Belcher circumnavigated Peel's Island in the cutter, and discovered a large bay at the south-

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east angle of the island, which afforded very secure anchorage from all winds except the south-east; as this is the prevalent wind during the summer, it is not advisable to anchor there in that season. I named it Fitton Bay, in compliment to Dr. Fitton, late president of the Geological Society. Mr. Elson also was employed outside the harbour, and discovered some sunken rocks to the southward of the entrance to the port, on which account ships should not close the land in that direction, so as to shut in two paps at the north-east angle of Port Lloyd with the south bluff of the harbour. With these objects open there is no danger.

On the 15th of June, we put to sea from Port Lloyd; and finding the wind still from the southward, and that we could not reach the islands in that direction without much loss of time, I bore away to ascertain the northern limit of the group. We ran along the western shore, and at noon on the 16th observed the meridian altitude off the northernmost islet. The group consists of three clusters of islands lying nearly N. by E., and extending from the lat. of $27^{\circ} 44' 35''$ N. to $26^{\circ} 30'$ N. and beyond, but that was the utmost limit of our view to the southward. The northern cluster consists of small islands and pointed rocks, and has much broken ground about it, which renders caution necessary in approaching it. I distinguished it by the name of Parry's Group, in compliment to the late hydrographer, under whose command I had the pleasure to serve on the northern expedition. The middle cluster consists of three islands, of which Peel's Island, four miles and a fifth in length, is the largest. This group is nine miles and a quarter in length, and is divided by two channels so narrow that they can only

be seen when abreast of them. Neither of them are navigable by shipping; the northern, on account of rocks which render it impassable even by boats, and the other on account of rapid tides and eddies, which, as there is no anchoring ground, would, most likely, drift a ship upon the rocks. The northern island I named Stapleton, and the centre Buckland, in compliment to the Professor of Geology at Oxford. At the south-west angle of Buckland Island there is a sandy bay, in which ships will find good anchorage; but they must be careful in bringing up to avoid being carried out of soundings by the current. I named it Walker's Bay, after Mr. Walker of the Hydrographical Office. The southern cluster is evidently that in which a whale ship commanded by Mr. Coffin anchored in 1823, who was the first to communicate its position to this country, and who bestowed his own name upon the port. As the cluster was, however, left without any distinguishing appellation, I named it after Francis Baily, Esq. late President of the Astronomical Society.

These clusters of islands correspond so well with a group named Yslas del Arzobispo in a work published many years ago in Manilla, entitled *Navigación Especulativa y Pratica*, that I have retained the name, in addition to that of Bonin Islands; as it is extremely doubtful, from the Japanese accounts of Bonin-sima, whether there are not other islands in the vicinity, to which the latter name is not more applicable. In these accounts, published by M. Klaporth in his *Mémoire sur la Chine*, and by M. Abel Remusat in the *Journal des Savans* for September, 1817, it is said, that the islands of Bonin-sima, or Mou-nin-sima, consist of eighty-nine islands; of which two are large,

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four are of a middling size, four small, and the remainder of the group consists of rocks. The two large islands are there said to be inhabited, and in the Japanese chart, published in the *Journal des Savans*, contain several villages and temples. They are stated to be extremely fertile, to produce leguminous vegetables and all kinds of grain, besides a great abundance of pasturage and sugar-canes, and the plains to afford an agreeable retreat to man; that there are lofty palm-trees, cocoa-nuts, and other fruits; sandal wood, camphor, and other precious trees.

Setting aside the geographical inaccuracy of the chart, which the Japanese might not know how to avoid, and the disagreement of distances and proportions, their description is so very unlike any thing that we found in these islands, that if the Japanese are at all to be credited they cannot be the same; and if they are not to be believed, it may be doubted whether Bonin-sima is not an imaginary island.

The group which we visited had neither villages, temples, nor any remains whatever; and it was quite evident that they had never been resided upon. There were no cocoa-nut trees, no sugar-canes, no leguminous vegetables, nor any plains for the cultivation of grain, the land being very steep in every part, and overgrown with tall trees. Neither in number, size, or direction will the islands at all coincide; and under such dissimilarities it may reasonably be inquired whether it is possible for these places to be the same. If we compare the number, size, and shape of the islands, or direction of the group, there is a yet wider discrepancy; ports are placed in the Japanese map where none exist in these; rocks are marked to the full number, which seem only to create useless

alarm to the navigator; and throughout there is a neglect of the cardinal points. I have therefore, on this ground, presumed to doubt the propriety of the name of Bonin-sima being attached to these islands.

Were the situation of Bonin-sima dependent solely upon the account furnished by Kämpfer, it might safely be identified with the group of Yslas del Arzobispo; but the recent notice of that island by the Japanese authors is so very explicit, that great doubt upon the subject is thereby created. Kämpfer's account stands thus:—In 1675 a Japanese junk was driven out of her course by strong winds, and wrecked upon an island three hundred miles to the eastward of Fatsissio. The island abounded in arrack-trees (areca ?) and in enormous crabs (turtle ?), which were from four to six feet in length; and was named Bunesima, in consequence of its being uninhabited. In this statement the distance, the areca-trees, the turtle, and the island being unoccupied agree very well with the description of the island I have given above; and it is curious that Wittrein, whom we found upon the island, declared he had seen the wreck of a vessel in which the planks were put together in a manner similar to that which was noticed by Lieutenant Wainwright in the junk at Loo Choo.

It is remarkable that this group should have escaped the observation of Gore, Perouse, Krusenstern, and several others, whose vessels passed to the northward and southward of its position. In the journals of the above-mentioned navigators we find that when in the vicinity of these islands they were visited by land-birds; but that they never saw land, the three small islands of Los Volcanos excepted, which may be considered the last of the group. The consequence of its

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having thus escaped notice was, that all the islands, except the three last-mentioned, were expunged from the charts; and it was not until 1823 that they re-appeared on Arrowsmith's map, on the authority of M. Abel Remusat.

Near these islands we found strong currents, running principally to the northward; but none of them equalled in strength that which is said by the Japanese to exist between Bonin-sima and Fatsio, which indeed was so rapid that it obtained the name of Kouro-si-gawa, or Current of the Black Gulf;* nor did their directions accord, as the kourosi-gawa is said to set from east to west. At particular periods, perhaps, these currents may be greater than we found them, and may also run to the westward, but they are certainly not constant. To the southward of Jesso, Captain Broughton experienced a set in the opposite direction—that is, from west to east, and so did Admiral Krusenstern. With us, as has been mentioned before, the set was to the northward.

June 16th. I had spent as much time in low latitudes, fixing the positions of all these islands, as was consistent with my orders, and it became necessary to make the best of our way to the northward, which we did, in the hope of being more successful in our search for the land expedition than we were the preceding year. At first we stood well to the eastward, in order to get nearly into the meridian of Petropaulski, that we might not be inconvenienced by easterly winds, which appear to be prevalent in these seas in the summer time; and

* Description d'un Groupe d'îles peu connu, par M. Remusat.

having attained our object, directed the course for that port.

Our passage between corresponding latitudes was very similar to that of the preceding year. Between the parallels of 30° and 35° we experienced light and variable winds, and in 39° of latitude took a southerly wind, which continued with us nearly all the way. We entered the region of fog nearly in the same latitude as before, and did not lose it until the day before we made the land, when, as before, it was dispersed by strong winds off the coast. The currents were similar to those of the preceding year; but when near the Kurile Islands we were impeded by a strong southerly current from the Sea of Okotsk. About this time we noticed so material a change in the colour of the sea that we were induced to try for soundings, but without gaining the bottom. Captain Clerke off the same place observed a similar change, and also tried for soundings without success. It is probable that the outset from the Sea of Okotsk, the shores of which are flat and muddy, may bring down a quantity of that substance, and occasion the alteration.

As we had very little to interest us in this passage, beyond that which always attends a material change of climate, we watched the birds which flew around us, and found that the tropic birds deserted us in 35° N. The brown albatross and shearwaters fell off in 40° N. In 41° we saw the wandering albatross and black divers; some petrel in 45° ; puffins, fulmar petrels, and gannets in 49° , and as we approached Kamschatka, lummies, dovebies, and small tern. About the latitude of 42° we saw many whales, but they did not accompany us far. We observed

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driftwood occasionally, but it was not so plentiful as in the preceding year.

On the 2d of July we made the snowy mountains of Kamschatka, but did not reach the Bay of Awatska before the evening of the next day, when, after experiencing the difficulties which almost always attend the entry and egress of the port, we came to an anchor off the town of Petropaulski nearly in the same situation as before.

We found lying in the inner harbour the Okotsk Packet, a brig of 200 tons, commanded by a Russian sub-lieutenant, on the point of sailing with the mail for St. Petersburg, and availed ourselves of the favourable opportunity of transmitting despatches and private letters by her. I received some official letters which had been too late for the ship the preceding year; but neither in ~~them~~ nor in the Petersburg Gazette, which finds its way occasionally to Kamschatka, was there intelligence to influence our proceedings, and we consequently began to refit the ship for her northern cruise. While this duty was in progress, we were also employed sounding and surveying the capacious bay and the harbours of Tareinski, Rakovya, and Petropaulski, the plans of those places which had been constructed by Captain King being by no means complete.

Before the ship was at an anchor we received from the governor, Captain Stanitski, a very acceptable present of some new potatoes, fresh butter, curds, and spring water—a mark of attention and politeness for which we were very thankful. On landing I had the pleasure to find all the colony in good health, but a little chagrined to learn the ship was not one of the pe-

riodical vessels from St. Petersburg. As these vessels bring out every kind of supply for the inhabitants, they are most anxiously looked for; and if they are detained they occasion great inconvenience.

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We endeavoured to supply some of the deficiencies of the place by presents of flour, rice, tea, and bottled porter, and three large turtle, with some water-melons. Both the last-mentioned were great curiosities, as they had never been brought to the place before, or indeed seen by any of the inhabitants, except those in the government service. Much curiosity was consequently excited when the turtle were landed; and very few would at first believe such forbidding animals were intended to be eaten. As no person knew how to dress them, I sent my cook on shore, and they were soon converted into an excellent soup, some of which was sent round to each of the respectable inhabitants of the place; but as may be imagined, after having brought the animals so far, we were mortified at hearing several persons declare their preference for their own dishes made of seals' flesh. These turtle were the last of the supply we had taken on board at Port Lloyd, three having died upon the passage, and the ship's company having continued to consume two every day, which on an average was about five pounds a man. This lasted for about three weeks, during which time we saved half the usual allowance of provisions.

The season at Petropaulski was more backward than the preceding year; and though it was the beginning of July, the snow lay deep upon some parts of the shore, and the inhabitants were glad to keep on their fur dresses.

The little town, which has been repeatedly de-

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scribed since King's visit, has been removed from the spit of land which forms the harbour; to a valley at the back of it, where there are several rows of substantial log-houses, comfortably fitted up inside, and warmed with large ovens in the centre, furnished with pipes for the conveyance of hot air. Glass for windows has partly superseded the laminæ of talc, before used for that purpose. Neat wooden bridges have been thrown over the ravines which intersect the town, and a new church has been built. A guard-house and several field-pieces command the landing; and a little to the northward there are magazines for powder and stores. Among other buildings in the town there is a hospital and a school. The yourts and baglans of which Captain King speaks are now only used as store-houses for fish.

The greater part of the houses are furnished with gardens; but being badly attended to, they produce very little. That attached to the government-house was in better order, and was planted with pease, beans, cabbages, lettuces, potatoes, radishes, cucumbers, and a few currant-trees which were blighted; barley and a small quantity of wheat were also growing in its vicinity. Some new houses were erecting in the town in expectation of the arrival of some exiles from St Petersburg, as it was understood that several persons concerned in the conspiracy against the emperor were to be banished to this place. The town, upon the whole, was much neater than I expected to find it; and I by no means agree with Captain Cochrane that it is a contemptible place, and a picture of misery and wretchedness. Considering the number of years it has been colonized, and that it is part of the Russian Empire, it ought certainly to have become a

much more importance; but it does not differ so materially from the accounts of it that have been published, as to create disappointment on visiting the place, and it appeared to me that nothing is promised in those accounts which the place itself does not afford.

It was with much pleasure we noticed in the governor's garden the monument of our departed countryman Captain Clerke, which for better preservation had been removed from its former position by the late governor. It was on one side of a broad gravel walk, at the end of an avenue of trees. On the other side of the walk, there was a monument to the memory of the celebrated Beering. The former, it may be recollected, was erected by the officers of Captain Krusenstern's ship; and the latter had been purposely sent from St. Petersburg. This mark of respect from the Russians toward our departed countryman calls forth our warmest gratitude, and must strengthen the good understanding which exists and is daily increasing between the officers of their service and our own. The monument will ever be regarded as one of the greatest interest, as it marks the places of interment of the companions of the celebrated Cook and Beering, and records the generosity of the much-lamented Prouse, who placed a copper plate over the grave of our departed countryman Captain Clerke; and of the celebrated Admiral Krusenstern, who erected the monument, and affixed a tablet upon it to the memory of the Abbé de la Croyère. Such eminent names, thus combined, create a regret that the materials on which they are engraved are not as imperishable as the memory of the men themselves.

Since Admiral Krusenstern visited Kamschatka,

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several alterations have been made, probably in consequence of the suggestions in his publication. The seat of government is now fixed at Petropaulski, the town is considerably improved, and the inhabitants are better supplied than formerly. Still much remains to be accomplished before Petropaulski can be of consequence in any way, except in affording an excellent asylum for vessels. In this respect it is almost unequalled, being very secure, and admirably adapted to the purpose of any vessel requiring repair; but for this she will have to depend entirely upon her own resources, as there is nothing to be had in the country but fish, wood, water, and fresh beef.

The population of the town at the beginning of the winter of 1826 was not more than three hundred and eighty-five persons, exclusive of the government establishment: the occupation of the people consists principally in curing fish and providing for a long winter, during which, with the exception of those persons who go into the interior for furs, there is very little to occupy the inhabitants.

There are no manufactures in the country, nor any establishments which require notice. The inhabitants have an idea that the climate is too cold to produce crops of wheat and other grain, and neglect almost entirely the cultivation of the soil. The consequence of this is, that they occasionally suffer very much from scurvy, and are dependant upon the supplies which are sent from St. Petersburg every second year for all their farinaceous food; and if these vessels are lost the greatest distress ensues. Many attempts have been made to persuade them to attend to agriculture; rewards have been offered by the government for the finest productions; and seeds are distributed to the

people every spring. In the autumn there is a fair, at which those persons who have received seeds are required to attend, and to bring with them specimens of the fruit of their labour. The persons who are most deserving then receive rewards, and the day finishes with a feast and a dance. In spite of these encouragements, the gardens are very little attended to. Hay, though it is got in at the proper season, is in such inadequate proportion to the wants of the cattle, that were it not for wild garlic they would famish before the spring vegetation commences. The flavour that is communicated to the milk and butter by the use of this herbage, appears to be so familiar to the inhabitants that they find nothing unpleasant in it; but it is very much the reverse with strangers. Every family has one or two cows, of which great care is taken during the winter, and, strictly speaking, some of the inhabitants live under the same roof with their animals, with no other partition than a screen of single boards. There are very few oxen in the town, and when required they are driven from Bolcheresk, about ninety miles off, where pasturage is more abundant. Beef is consequently a luxury seldom enjoyed; and sheep and goats cannot exist in the country, in consequence of the savage nature of the dogs, which are very large, and occasionally break away from their fastenings: fish therefore constitutes the principal food of the inhabitants.

Necessarily frugal, and blessed with a salubrious climate, the residents in general enjoy good health, and appear to lead a contented life. They are extremely fond of the amusement of dancing, and frequently meet for this purpose. There are several musicians, and musical instruments are manufactured by

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an ingenious exile. As spirituous liquors of any kind in the country are scarce, these meetings are not attended with any inebriety, and serve only to pass away the dull hours of a long winter's evening. The only refreshment we saw produced at them consisted of whortle and cran-berries; these were piled up in two or three plates with a dessert-spoon to each, and passed round the company, almost every body using the same spoon. Society is necessarily very mixed, or there could be none in so small a population, and when strangers are not present it is not unusual to see exiles at the governor's parties.

In the winter sledging is a favourite occupation. The dogs are here very large and swift, and are so much esteemed that they are carried to Okotsk for sale. For a description of this amusement, and other recreations of the Kamschatdales, I must refer the reader to Cook's Voyage, to Captain Cochrane's Pedestrian Journey, and to the entertaining Travels of Mr. Dobell, who quitted Kamschatka a short time before we arrived.

At present the only trade carried on at Petropaulski is in furs, which are exchanged for goods brought annually from Okotsk. Every thing is excessively dear, even the necessary article salt is in great demand, and produces a very high price.

The Bay of Awatska and the harbours which open into it leave nothing to be desired in the way of a port. Awatska has many square miles of ground which may be appropriated to secure anchorage, and Tareinski is the beau ideal of a harbour. Petropaulski, though small, has a sufficient depth of water for a first-rate in every part of it. The ground is good, and the smoothness of the water is never affected by any weather

upon the coast. As Awatska is nearly surrounded by high land, gusts of wind are of frequent occurrence, particularly opposite Rakovya harbour: on this account it is advisable to moor or ride with a long scope of cable. The entrance to the port is narrow and about four miles in length, and as the wind almost always blows up or down the channel, ships frequently have to beat in and out, and experience great difficulty in so doing, from the confined space to which they are limited, and the eddy currents, which in the spring-time in particular must be carefully guarded against. There are but two shoals in the harbour which it is necessary to notice; one off Rakovya, upon which there is a buoy; and the other off the signal station on the west side of the entrance of Awatska Bay.

* Much has been said of the neglected condition of the settlement, and volumes have been written on the government, inhabitants, productions, and on the actual and prospective state of the country;* still there have been no exertions on the part of the government materially to improve or provide for either one or the other. Its neglected state is probably of very little consequence at present; but should the North Pacific ever be the scene of active naval operations, Petropaulski must doubtless become of immense importance. At present it may be said to be unfortified, but a very few guns judiciously placed would effectually protect the entrance.

On the 18th of July, having completed the survey of the bay of Awatska and its harbours, we took our leave of the hospitable inhabitants, and weighed anchor; but, as on the former occasion, we were obliged

* Cook's Third Voyage, vol. iii.; Perouse's Voyage; Krusenstern's Embassy to Japan; Langsdorff's Travels; Cochrane's Journey; Dobell's Travels, &c.

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to make several unsuccessful attempts to get out, and did not accomplish our object until the 20th, when we shaped our course towards Chepoonski Noss. A long swell rolled in upon the shore as we crossed this spacious bay, in the depth of which the port of Awatska is situated, and convinced us of the difficulty that would be experienced in getting clear of the land with a strong wind upon the coast, and of the danger a ship would incur were she, in addition to this, to be caught in a fog, which would prevent her finding the port. Our winds were light from seaward, and we made slow progress, striking soundings occasionally from sixty to seventy fathoms, until the following morning, when we took our departure from the Noss, and entered a thick fog, which enveloped us until we made Beering's Island on the 22d; when it cleared away for the moment, and we distinguished Seal Rock. We had no observation at noon, but by comparing the reckoning with the observations of the preceding and following days, it gave the position of the island the same as before.

We quitted the island with the prospect of a quick passage to the Straits, and, attended by a thick fog, advanced to the northward until the 26th, at which time contrary winds brought us in with the Asiatic coast in the parallel of $61^{\circ} 58' N$. When we were within a few leagues of the coast the fog cleared away, as it generally does near the land, and discovered to us a hilly country, and a coast apparently broken into deep bays and inlets; but as we did not approach very closely, these might have been only valleys. In this parallel the nearest point of land bearing $N. 74^{\circ} W$. true, thirteen miles, the depth of water was 26 fathoms; and it increased gradually as we receded from the

coast. The bottom near the shore was a coarse gravel, which, as that in the offing is mud or sand, is a useful distinctive feature. With a northerly wind and a thick fog we stood towards St. Lawrence Island, and on the 1st August were apprised of our approach to it, by the soundings changing from mud to sand, and several visits from the little crested auks, which are peculiar to this island. We made the land about the same place we had done the preceding year, stood along it to the northward, and passed its N. W. extreme, at two miles and a half distance, in fifteen fathoms water, over a bottom of stones and shells, which soon changed again to sand and mud. About midnight the temperature of water fell to 31° , and soon after that of the air was reduced from 42° to 34° . The wind shifted to north-west, and cleared away the fog. On the afternoon of the 2d we passed King's Island, and the wind continuing to the northward, anchored off Point Rodney, for the purpose of hoisting out the barge. We came to anchor in seven fathoms, three miles from the land, King's Island bearing N. $70^{\circ} 29'$ W. true, and Sledge Island S. 65° E. true.

Point Rodney is low, and the water being shallow, it is difficult to land. From the beach to the foot of the mountains there is a plain about two miles wide, covered with lichens and grass, upon which several herds of reindeer were feeding; but the communication is in places interrupted by narrow lakes, which extend several miles along the coast. Upon the beach there was a greater abundance of driftwood than we had noticed on any other part of the coast; some of it was perforated by the terredo, and was covered with small barnacles; but there were several trunks which appeared to have been recently torn up by the roots.

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Near the spot where we landed were several yurts, and a number of posts driven into the ground, and in the lake we found several artificial ducks, which had been left as decoys: but we saw no natives. About two miles from the coast the country becomes mountainous, and far inland rises to peaked hills of great height, covered with perennial snow.

It was calm throughout the greater part of the day, with very fine weather. The temperature, which increased gradually as we left the snowy coast of Asia, at noon reached to 55° , which was twenty-one degrees higher than it had been on the opposite shore; and the mean for the last twenty-four hours was seven degrees higher than that of the preceding day. Part of this difference was evidently owing to the cessation of the northerly wind and our proximity to the land; but part must also have been occasioned by one coast being naturally colder than the other.

During the time we were at anchor there was a regular ebb and flow of the tide; and there appeared by the shore to be about three or four feet rise of the water. The flood came from the S.E., and ran with greater strength than the ebb, which showed there was a current setting towards Beering's Strait. Captain Cook noticed the same circumstance off this part of the coast.

The equipment of our little tender was always a subject of interest, and preparations for hoisting her out seemed to give the greatest pleasure to all on board. She was again placed under the command of Mr. Elson, who received orders to examine the coast narrowly between our station and Kotzebue Sound and to search for an opening to the eastward of Cape Prince of Wales, of which the Esquimaux had

prised us the preceding year by their chart upon the sand. Mr. Elson was likewise ordered to look into Schismareff Inlet, and afterwards to meet the ship at Chamisso Island. This little excursion was nearly being frustrated by an accident. In hoisting out the boat the bolt in her keel gave way, in consequence of the copper having corroded the iron of the clench; a circumstance which should be guarded against in coppered boats. Fortunately she was not far off the deck, or the accident might have been of a very serious nature, as her weight was as much as our yards would bear when shored up.

As soon as she was equipped, Mr. Elson proceeded on shore; and a breeze springing up shortly afterwards, the ship weighed, and entered the channel between King's Island and the main. The depth of water from the anchorage off Point Rodney decreased gradually as she proceeded, until nearly mid-channel, when the soundings became very irregular; the alternate casts occasionally varying from nine to six fathoms, and vice versa. As it was blowing fresh at the time, the sudden change of soundings occasioned overfalls; and the channel having been very indifferently explored, it was unpleasant sailing. But although I do not think there is any danger, it would still be advisable in passing through the channel, which is full of ridges, to pay strict attention to the lead, particularly as when Captain Cook passed over the same ground, there was, according to his chart, nothing less than twelve fathoms. The wind increasing, and a thick fog approaching, the course was continued with some anxiety; but finding the same irregularity in the soundings, I hauled out due west to the northward of King's Island, which speedily brought us into

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twenty-eight fathoms, and showed that there was a bank, tolerably steep at its edge, extending from King's Island to the main. We now resumed our course for the strait; but the fog being very thick we had some difficulty in finding the passage, and were obliged to haul off twice before we succeeded in passing it. In doing this we crossed a narrow channel, with thirty-seven fathoms water, which is deeper soundings than have been hitherto found within a great many miles of the strait. As the depth on each side of the channel is only twenty-four fathoms, it may serve as a guide in future to vessels circumstanced as we were at the mouth of the strait in a thick fog. A little before noon we discerned the Fairway Rock, and passed the straits in confidence before a fresh gale of wind, which had just increased so much as to render our situation very unpleasant.

On the morning of the 5th we passed Cape Espenburg, and in the evening came to an anchor off Chamisso Island, nearly in the same situation we had occupied so long the preceding year. On revisiting this island, curiosity and interest in the fate of our countrymen, of whom we were in search, were our predominant feelings; and a boat was immediately sent to ascertain whether they had been at the island. On her return we learned that no new marks had been discerned upon the rocks; no staff was erected, as had been agreed upon in the event of their arrival; and the billet of wood containing despatches was lying unopened upon the same stone on which it had been placed the preceding year, either of which facts was a conclusive answer to our inquiry.

By some chips of wood which had been recently cut, it appeared that the *Esquimaux* had not long

quitted the island; and on examining the grave of our unfortunate shipmate we found it had been disturbed by the natives, who, disappointed in their search, had again filled in the earth. It would be unfair to impute to these people any malicious intentions from this circumstance, as they must have had every reason to suppose, from their custom of concealing provisions underground, and from having found a cask of our flour buried the preceding year, that they would find a similar treasure, especially as they do not inter their dead. The cask of flour and the box of beads, which had been deposited in the sand, had been unmolested; but a copper coin which we nailed upon a post on the summit of the island was taken away.

The swarms of mosquitos that infested the shore at this time greatly lessened our desire to land. However, some of our sportsmen traversed the island, and succeeded in killing a white hare, weighing nearly twelve pounds, and a few ptarmigan; the hare was getting its summer coat, and the young birds were strong upon the wing.

For several days after our arrival the weather was very thick, with rain and squalls from the south-west, which occasioned some anxiety for the barge; but on the 11th she joined us, and I learned from Mr. Elson that he had succeeded in finding the inlet, and that as far as he could judge, the weather being very foggy and boisterous, it was a spacious and excellent port. He was visited by several of the natives while there, one of whom drew him a chart, which corresponded with that constructed upon the sand in Kotzebue Sound the preceding year. On his putting to sea from the inlet, the weather continued very thick, so much so that he passed through Beering's Strait without seeing land; and was unable to explore Schismareff Inlet.

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The discovery of a port so near to Beering's Strait, and one in which it was probable the ship might remain after circumstances should oblige her to quit Kotzebue Sound, was of great importance; and I determined to take an early opportunity of examining it, should the situation of the ice to the northward afford no prospect of our proceeding further than we had done the preceding year. In order that Captain Franklin's party might not be inconvenienced by such an arrangement, the barge was fitted, and placed under the command of Lieutenant Belcher, who was ordered to proceed along the coast as in the preceding year, and to use his best endeavours to communicate with the party under Captain Franklin's command, by penetrating to the eastward as far as he could go with safety to the boat; but he was on no account to risk being beset in the ice; and in the event of separation from the ship, he was not to protract his absence from Kotzebue Sound beyond the 1st of September. He was also to examine the shoals off Icy Cape and Cape Krusenstern, and to explore the bay to the northward of Point Hope.

Having made these arrangements, we endeavoured to put to sea, but calms and fogs detained us at Chamisso until the 14th, and it was the 16th before we reached the entrance of the sound. The barge, however, got out, and the weather afterwards being very foggy, we did not rejoin for some time. Before we left the island we were visited by several natives whom we remembered to have seen the preceding year. They brought some skins for sale, as usual, but did not find so ready a market for them as on the former occasion, in consequence of the greater part of the furs which had been purchased by the seamen at

that time, having rotted and become offensive on their return to warm latitudes. Our visitors were, as before, dirty, noisy, and impudent. One of them, finding he was not permitted to carry off some deep-sea leads that were lying about, scraped off the greasy arming and devoured it: another, after bargaining some skins for the armourer's anvil, unconcernedly seized it for the purpose of carrying it away; but, much to his surprise, and to the great diversion of the sailors who had played him the trick, he found its weight much too great for him, and after a good laugh received back his goods. A third amused the young gentlemen very much by his humorous behaviour. He was a shrewd, observing, merry fellow. For some time he stood eying the officers walking the deck, and at length appeared determined to turn them into ridicule; seizing therefore a young midshipman by the hand, he strutted with him up and down the deck in a most ludicrous manner, to the great entertainment of all present. They quitted us late at night, but renewed their visit at three in the morning, and seemed surprised to find us washing the decks. They probably expected that we should be fast asleep, and that they would have an opportunity of appropriating to themselves some of the moveable articles upon deck. There was otherwise no reason for returning so soon; and from what we afterwards saw of these people, there is every reason to believe that was their real motive.

Off the entrance of Kotzebue Sound we were met by a westerly wind, which prevented our making much progress; but on the 18th the breeze veered to the south-westward, with a thick fog, and as I had not seen any thing of the barge, I steered to the north-

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ward to ascertain the position of the ice. At noon Cape Thomson was seen N. 46° E. (true) three leagues distant, but was immediately obscured again by fog. At midnight the temperature of both air and sea fell from 43° to 39°, and rose again soon afterwards to 44°, occasioned probably by some patches of ice; but the weather was so thick that we could see only a very short distance around us. We continued to stand to the north-west, with very thick and rainy weather, until half past one o'clock in the afternoon, when I hauled to the wind, in consequence of the temperature of the water having cooled down to 35°, and the weather being still very thick. In half an hour afterwards we heard the ice to leeward, and had but just room to get about to clear a small berg at its edge. Our latitude at this time was 70° 01' N., and longitude 168° 50' W., or about 160 miles to the westward of Icy Cape. The soundings in the last twelve hours had been very variable, increasing at one time to thirty fathoms, then shoaling to twenty-four, and deepening again to thirty-two fathoms, *muddy* bottom; an hour after this we shoaled to twenty-one fathoms, *stones*, and at the edge of the ice to nineteen fathoms, *stones*. The body of ice lying to the northward prevented our pursuing this shallow water, to ascertain whether it decreased so as to become dangerous to navigation.

Shortly after we tacked, the wind fell very light, and changed to west. We could hear the ice plainly; but the fog was so thick that we could not see thirty yards distance; and as we appeared to be in a bay, to avoid being beset, we stood out by the way which we had entered. At nine o'clock the fog cleared off, and we returned toward the ice. At midnight, being close to

its edge, we found it in a compact body, extending from W. to N.E. and trending N. 68° E. true. As the weather was unsettled, I stood off until four o'clock, and then tacked, and at eight again saw the ice a few miles to the south-eastward of our position the day before. We ran along its edge, and at noon observed the latitude in $70^{\circ} 06'$ N.

Occasional thick weather and snow showers obliged us to keep at a greater distance from the pack, and we lost sight of it for several hours; but finding by the increase of the temperature of the water that our course led us too much from it, at nine o'clock I steered N.N.E. true, and at midnight was again close upon it. The ice was compact as before, except near the edge, and extended from W.S.W. to N.N.E. mag. trending N. 56° E. true. We now followed its course closely to the eastward, and found it gradually turning to the southward. At three o'clock the wind veered to south-west, with snow-showers and thick weather; and as this brought us upon a lee shore, I immediately hauled off the ice, and carried a press of sail to endeavour to weather Icy Cape. The edge of the packed ice at this time was in latitude $70^{\circ} 47'$ N. trending south-eastward, and gradually approaching the land to the eastward of Icy Cape. By the information of Lieutenant Belcher, who was off the Cape at this time, though not within sight of the ship, it closed the land about twenty-seven miles east of Icy Cape. The passage that was left between it and the beach was extremely narrow; and judging from the effect of the westerly winds off Refuge Inlet the preceding year, it must soon have been closed up, as those winds blew with great strength about the time we hauled off.

From this it appears that the line of packed ice, in

the meridian of Icy Cape, was twenty-four miles to the southward of its position the preceding year, and that it was on the whole much nearer the continent of America. With the ice thus pressing upon the American coast, and with the prevalence of westerly winds, by which this season was distinguished, there would have been very little prospect of a vessel bent upon effecting the passage succeeding even in reaching Point Barrow.

The wind continuing to blow from the S.W., with thick weather and showers of snow, we endeavoured to get an offing, and at ten o'clock tacked a mile off the land near Icy Cape. In the afternoon we stood again to the southward, and the next day fetched into the bay near Cape Beaufort, and at night hove to off Cape Lisburn with thick and cold weather. The next morning, being moderate, afforded us the only opportunity we had hitherto had of depositing some information for Captain Franklin's party. The boat landed near the Cape, and buried one bottle for him and another for Lieutenant Belcher, whom we had not seen since we parted at Chamisso Island. In the evening we stretched toward Point Hope, for the purpose of depositing a bottle there also, as it was a point which could not escape Captain Franklin's observation in his route along shore; but the wind increasing from the westward occasioned a heavy surf upon the beach, and obliged the ship to keep in the offing.

Seeing that we could not remain sufficiently close in shore to be of use to our friends during the westerly winds and thick weather, I determined upon the examination of the inlet discovered by Mr. Elson to the eastward of Cape Prince of Wales, and made sail for Kotzebue Sound, for the purpose of leaving there the

necessary information for Captain Franklin and Lieutenant Belcher, in the event of either arriving during our absence.

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We passed Cape Krusenstern about sunset on the 25th; and in running along shore after dark our attention was directed to a large fire, kindled as if for the purpose of attracting our notice. As this was the signal agreed upon between Captain Franklin and myself, and as we had not before seen a fire in the night on any part of the coast, we immediately brought to, and, to our great satisfaction at the moment, observed a boat pulling towards the ship. Our anxiety at her approach may be imagined, when we thought we could discover with our telescopes, by the light of the aurora borealis, that she was propelled by oars instead of by paddles. But just as our expectation was at the highest, we were accosted by the Esquimaux in their usual manner, and all our hopes vanished. I fired a gun, however, in case there might be any persons on shore who could not come off to us; but the signal not being answered, we pursued our course for Chamisso.

For the first time since we entered Beering's Strait the night was clear, and the aurora borealis sweeping across the heavens reminded us that it was exactly on that night twelvemonth that we saw this beautiful phenomenon for the first time in these seas. A short time before it began, a brilliant meteor fell in the western quarter. The aurora is at all times an object of interest, and seldom appears without some display worthy of admiration, though the expectation is seldom completely gratified. The uncertainty of its movements, and of the moment when it may break out into splendour, has, however, the effect of keeping the at-

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tention continually on the alert; many of us in consequence staid up to a late hour, but nothing was exhibited on this occasion more than we had already repeatedly witnessed.

We were more fortunate the following night, when the aurora approached nearer the southern horizon than it had done on any former occasion that we had observed in this part of the globe. It commenced much in the usual manner, by forming an arch from W. N. W. to E. N. E., and then soared rapidly to the zenith, where the streams of light rolled into each other, and exhibited brilliant colours of purple, pink, and green. It then became diffused over the sky generally, leaving about 8° of clear space between it and the northern and southern horizons. From this tranquil state it again suddenly poured out corruscations from all parts, which shot up to the zenith, and formed a splendid cone of rays, blending pink, purple, and green colours in all their varieties. This singular and beautiful exhibition lasted only a few minutes, when the light as before became diffused over the sky in a bright haze.

We anchored at Chamisso on the 26th, and, after depositing the necessary information on shore, weighed the next morning to proceed to examine the inlet. We were scarcely a league from the land when our attention was again arrested by a fire kindled upon the Peninsula, and eight or ten persons standing upon the heights waving to the ship. The disappointment of the preceding night ought certainly to have put us upon our guard; but the desire of meeting our countrymen induced us to transform every object capable of misconstruction into something favourable to our wishes, and our expectations on this occasion carried

us so far that some imagined they could perceive the party to be dressed in European clothes. A boat was immediately despatched to the shore; but, as the reader has already begun to suspect, it was a party of Esquimaux, who wished to dispose of some skins for tobacco.

This disappointment lost us a favourable tide, and we did not clear the sound before the night of the 20th. After passing Cape Espenburg, a strong north-west wind made it necessary to stand off shore, in doing which the water shoaled from thirteen to nine fathoms upon a bank lying off Schismareff Inlet, and again deepened to thirteen: we then bore away for the strait, and at eleven o'clock saw the Diomed Islands, thirteen leagues distant; and about four o'clock rounded Cape Prince of Wales very close, in twenty-seven fathoms water.

This celebrated promontory is the western termination of a peaked mountain, which, being connected with the main by low ground, at a distance has the appearance of being isolated. The promontory is bold, and remarkable by a number of ragged points and large fragments of rock lying upon the ridge which connects the cape with the peak. About a mile to the northward of the cape, some low land begins to project from the foot of the mountain, taking first a northerly and then a north-easterly direction to Schismareff Inlet. Off this point we afterwards found a dangerous shoal, upon which the sea broke heavily. The natives have a village upon the low land near the cape called Eidannoo, and another inland, named King-a-ghe; and as they generally select the mouths of rivers for their residences, it is not improbable that a stream may here empty itself into the sea, which,

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meeting the current through the strait, very distant from the shoal. About fourteen miles inland from Etah, there is a remarkable conical hill, often visible when the mountain-tops are covered, which, being well fixed, will be found useful at such times by ships passing through the strait. Twelve miles further inland, the country becomes mountainous, and is remarkable for its sharp ridges. The altitude of one of the peaks, which is nearly the highest on the range, is 2596 feet. These mountains, being thickly covered with snow, gave the country a very wintry aspect.

To the southward of Cape Prince of Wales the coast trends nearly due east, and assumes a totally different character to that which leads to Schismareff Inlet, being bounded by steep rocky cliffs, and broken by deep valleys, while the other is low and swampy ground. The river called by the natives Youp-nut must lie in one of these valleys; and in all probability it is in that which opens out near a bold promontory, to which I have given the name of York, in honour of his late Royal Highness. On nearing that part of the coast we found the water more shallow than usual.

Having passed the night off Cape York on the 31st, we steered to the eastward, and shortly discovered a low spit of land projecting about ten miles from the coast, which here forms a right angle, and having a channel about two miles wide between its extremity and the northern shore. We sailed through this opening, and entered a spacious harbour, capable of holding a great many ships of the line. We landed first on the low spit at the entrance, and then stood across, five miles to the eastward, and came to an anchor off a bold cape, having carried nothing less than five and a half fathoms water the whole of the way.

The following morning, Sept. 1st, we stood toward an opening at the north-east angle of the harbour; but finding the water got gradually shallow, came again to anchor. On examination with the boats, we found, as we expected, an inner harbour, ten miles in length, by two and a quarter in width, with almost an uniform depth of two and a half and three fathoms water. The channel into it from the outer harbour is extremely narrow, the entrance being contracted by two sandy spits; but the water is deep, and in one part there is not less than twelve fathoms. At the upper end of the harbour a second strait, about three hundred yards in width, was formed between steep cliffs; but this channel was also contracted by sandy points. The current ran strong through the channel, and brought down a great body of water, nearly fresh (1.0096 sp. gr.). The boats had not time to pursue this strait; but in all probability it communicates with a large inland lake, as described by the natives in Kotzebue Sound. At the entrance of the strait, called Tokshook by the natives, there is an Esquimaux village, and upon the northern and eastern shores of the harbour there are two others: the population of the whole amounted to about four hundred persons. They closely resembled the natives we had seen before, except that they were better provided with clothing, and their implements were neater and more ingeniously made. Among their peltry we noticed several gray fox and land-otter skins, but they would not part with them for less than a hatchet apiece. In addition to the usual weapons of bows and arrows, these people had short iron spears neatly inlaid with brass, upon all which implements they set great value, and kept them wrapped in skins. Among the inhabitants of the village on the northern

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shore, named Chookowuck, there were several girls with massive iron bracelets. One had a curb chain for a necklace, and another a bell suspended in front, in the manner described the preceding year at Choris Peninsula.

There are very few natives in the outer harbour. On the northern side there is a village of yourts, to which the inhabitants apparently resort only in the winter. At the time of our visit it was in charge of an old man, his wife, and daughter, who received us civilly, and gave us some fish. The yourts were in a very ruinous condition: some were half filled with water, and all were filthy. By several articles and cooking utensils left upon the shelves, and by some sledges which were secreted in the bushes, the inhabitants evidently intended to return as soon as the frost should consolidate all the stagnant water within and about their dwellings. One of these yourts was so capacious that it could only have been intended as an assembly or banquetting room, and corresponded with the description of similar rooms among the eastern Esquimaux.

- There was a burying-ground near the village in which we noticed several bodies wrapped in skins, and deposited upon drift-wood, with frames of canoes, and sledges, &c. placed near them, as already described at the entrance of Hotham Inlet. The old man whom we found at this place gave the same names to the villages at the head of the inner harbour, and to the points of land at its entrance, as we had received from the natives of King-a-ghe whom we met in Kotzebue Sound.

His daughter had the hammer of a hammer suspended about her neck, and held it so near that she

would scarcely submit it to examination, and afterwards carefully concealed it within her dress. She was apparently very modest and bashful, and behaved with so much propriety that it was a pleasure to find such sentiments existing beneath so uncouth an exterior.

Upon the low point at the entrance of the inner harbour, called Nooke by the natives, there were some Esquimaux fishermen, who reminded us of a former acquaintance at Chamisso Island, and saluted us so warmly that we felt sorry their recollection had not entirely failed them. They appeared to have established themselves upon the point for the purpose of catching and drying fish; and from the number of salmon that were leaping in the channel, we should have thought they would have been more successful. They had, however, been fortunate in taking plenty of cod, and some species of salmon trout: they had also caught some herrings.

We were also recognised by a party from the southern shores of the harbour, who, the preceding year, had extended their fishing excursions from this place to Kotzebue Sound. These were some of the most cleanly and well-dressed people we had seen any where on the coast. Their residence was at King-agne—a place which, judging from the respectability of its inhabitants, whom we had seen elsewhere, must be of importance among the Esquimaux establishments upon this coast.

These two ports, situated so near Beering's Strait, may at some future time be of great importance to navigation, as they will be found particularly useful by vessels which may not wish to pass the strait in bad weather. To the outer harbour, which for convenience and security surpasses any other near Beering's

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Strait with which we are acquainted, I attached the name of Port Clarence, in honour of his most gracious Majesty, then Duke of Clarence. To the inner, which is well adapted to the purposes of repair, and is sufficiently deep to receive a frigate, provided she lands her guns, which can be done conveniently upon the sandy point at the entrance, I gave the name of Grantley Harbour, in compliment to Lord Grantley. To the points at the entrance of Port Clarence I attached the names of Spencer and Jackson, in compliment to the Honourable Captain Robert Spencer and Captain Samuel Jackson, C. B., two distinguished officers in the naval service: to the latter of whom I am indebted for my earliest connexion with the voyages of Northern Discovery.

The northern and eastern shores of Port Clarence slope from the mountains to the sea, and are occasionally terminated by cliffs composed of fine and talcy mica slate, intersected by veins of calcareous spar of a pearly lustre, mixed with grey quartz. The soil is covered with a thick coating of moss, among which there is a very limited flora: the valleys and hollows are filled with dwarf willow and birch. The country is swampy and full of ruts; and vegetation on the whole, even on the north side of the harbour, which had a southern aspect, was more backward than in Kotzebue Sound; still we found here three species of plants we had not seen before. Plants that were going to seed when we left that island were here only just in full flower, and berries that were there over ripe were here scarcely fit to be eaten. On the northern side of Grantley Harbour, Mr. Collie found a bed of purple *primulas*, *anemones*, and of *dodecatheons*, in full and fresh blossom, amidst a covering of snow that had fallen the preceding night.

The southern side of Port Clarence is a low diluvial formation, covered with grass, and intersected by narrow channels and lakes; it projects from a range of cliffs which appear to have been once upon the coast, and sweeping round, terminates in a low shingly point (Point Spencer). In one place this point is so narrow and low, that in a heavy gale of wind, the sea must almost inundate it; to the northward, however, it becomes wider and higher, and, by the remains of some mounds upon it, has at one time been the residence of Esquimaux. Like the land just described, it is intersected with lakes, some of which rise and fall with the tide, and is covered, though scantily, with a coarse grass, *elymus*, among which we found a species of *artemesia*, probably new. Near Point Spencer the beach has been forced up by some extraordinary pressure into ridges, of which the outer one, ten or twelve feet above the sea, is the highest. Upon and about these ridges there is a great quantity of drift timber, but more on the inner side of the point than the outer. Some has been deposited upon the point before the ridges of sand were formed, and is now mouldering away with the effect of time, while other logs are less decayed, and that which is lodged on the outer part is in good preservation, and serves the natives for bows and fishing staves.

We saw several reindeer upon the hilly ground; in the lakes, wild ducks: and upon the low point of the inner harbour, golden plover, and sanderlings, and a gull very much resembling the *larus sabini*.

The survey of these capacious harbours occupied us until the 5th, when we had completed nearly all that was necessary, and the weather set in with such severity that I was anxious to get back to Kotzebue.

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Sound. For the three preceding days the weather had been cold, with heavy falls of snow; and the seamen, the boat's crews in particular, suffered from the exposure to it, and from the harassing duty which was indispensable from the expeditious execution of the survey. On this day, the 5th, the thermometer stood at $25\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and the lakes on shore were frozen. We accordingly weighed, but not being able to get out, passed a sharp frosty night in the entrance; and next morning, favoured with an easterly wind, weighed and steered for the strait. As we receded from Point Spencer, the difficulty of distinguishing it even at a short distance accounted for this excellent port having been overlooked by Cook, who anchored within a very few miles of its entrance.

As we neared Beering's Strait the wind increased and on rounding Cape Prince of Wales, obliged us to reduce our sails to the close reef. On leaving the port the wind had been from the eastward, but it now drew to the northward, and compelled us to carry sail, in order to weather the Diomed Islands. Whilst we were thus pressed, John Dray, one of the seamen, unfortunately fell overboard from the lookout at the masthead, and sunk alongside a boat which was sent to him, after having had his arms round two of the oars. This was the only accident of the kind that had occurred since the ship had been in commission, and it was particularly unfortunate that it should have fallen to the lot of so good a man as Dray. Previous to his entry in the ship, he resided some time at the Marquesas Islands, and was so well satisfied with the behaviour of the natives of that place that he proposed living amongst them; but being on board a boat belonging to Baron Wrangel's ship, at a time when

the islanders made a most unjustifiable attack upon her, he was afraid to return to the shore, and accompanied the Baron to Petropaulski, where I received him and another seaman, similarly circumstanced, into the ship.

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Toward night the wind increased to a gale, and split almost every sail that was spread; the weather was dark and thick, with heavy falls of snow; and suspecting there might be a current setting through the strait, we anxiously looked out for the Diomed Islands, which were to leeward; and we were not a little surprised to find, on the weather clearing up shortly after daylight the following morning, that there had been a current running nearly against the wind, at the rate of upwards of a mile an hour, in a N. 41° W. direction.

From the time we quitted Port Clarence the temperature began to rise, and this morning stood four degrees above the freezing point. Change of locality was the only apparent cause for this increase, and it is very probable that the vicinity of the mountains to Port Clarence is the cause of the temperature of that place being lower than it is at sea.

In the morning we saw a great many walruses and whales, and observed large flocks of ducks migrating to the southward. The coast on both sides was covered with snow, and every thing looked wintry. The wind about this time changed to N.W., and by the evening carried us off the entrance of Kotzebue Sound, when we encountered, as usual, an easterly wind, and beat up all night with thick misty weather.

In our run to this place we again passed over a shoal, with eight and a half and nine fathoms water upon it off Schismareff inlet. After beating all night in very thick weather, on the 9th of September we

stood in for the northern shore of the sound, expecting to make the land well to windward of Cape Blossom, where the soundings decrease so gradually that due attention to the lead is the only precaution necessary to prevent running on shore; but there had unfortunately been a strong current during the night, which had drifted the ship towards Hotham Inlet, where the water shoaling suddenly from five fathoms to two and a half, the ship struck upon the sand while in the act of going about; and soon became fixed by the current running over the shoal. In consequence of this current our small boats experienced the utmost difficulty in carrying out an anchor, but they at length succeeded, though to no purpose, as the ship was immoveable. Looking to the possible result of this catastrophe, we congratulated ourselves on having the barge at hand to convey the crew to Kamschatka, little suspecting, from an accident which had already befallen her, in what a helpless condition each party was at that moment placed. Fortunately we were not reduced to the necessity of abandoning the ship, which appearances at one time led us to apprehend, as the wind moderated shortly after she struck, and on the rising of the next tide she went off without having received any apparent injury.

CHAPTER VII.

arrive at Chamisso Island—Find the Barge wrecked—Lieutenant Belcher's Proceedings—Conduct of the natives—Approach of Winter—Final Departure from the Polar Sea—Observations upon the probability of the North-West Passage from the Pacific—Remarks upon the Tribe inhabiting the North-West Coast of America—Return to California—Touch at San Blas, Valparaiso, Coquimbo, Rio Janeiro—Conclusion.

AFTER having so narrowly escaped shipwreck, we rest up all night with thick weather, and the next morning steered for Chamisso Island. As we approached the anchorage we were greatly disappointed at not seeing the barge at anchor, as her time had expired several days, and her provisions were too nearly expended for her to remain at sea with safety to her crew; but on scrutinizing the shore with our telescopes, we discovered a flag flying upon the south-east point of Choris Peninsula, and two men waving a piece of white cloth to attract attention. Amidst the sensations of hope and fear, a doubt immediately arose, whether the people we saw were the long looked for land expedition, or the crew of our boat, who had been unfortunate amongst the ice, or upon the coast, in the late boisterous weather. The possibility of its being the party under Captain Franklin arrived in safety, after having accomplished its glorious under-taking, was the first, because the most ardent wish of sanguine minds; but this was soon contradicted

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by a nearer view of the flag, which was clearly distinguished to be the ensign of our own boat, hoisted with the union downwards, indicative of distress. The boats were immediately sent to the relief of the sufferers, with provisions and blankets, concluding, as we saw only part of the crew stirring about, and others lying down within a small fence erected round the flag-staff, that they were ill, or had received hurts.

On the return of the first boat our conjectures as to the fate of the barge were confirmed; but with this difference, that instead of having been lost upon the coast to the northward, she had met her fate in Kotzebue Sound, and we had the mortification to find that three of the crew had perished with her. Thus, at the very time that we were consoling ourselves, in the event of our misfortunes of the preceding day terminating disastrously, that we should receive relief from our boat, her crew were anticipating assistance from us.

From the report of Lieutenant Belcher, who commanded the barge, it appears that after quitting Chamisso Island on the 12th ultimo, he proceeded along the northern shore of the Sound, and landed upon Cape Krusenstern, where he waited a short time, and not seeing the ship, the weather being very thick, he stood on for Cape Thomson, where he came to anchor, and replenished his stock of water. He met some natives on shore who informed him that the ship had passed to the northward (which was not true), and he therefore pursued his course; but finding the weather thick, and the wind blowing strong from the S.E., he brought to under the lee of Point Hope and examined the bay formed between it and Cape Lisburn, where he discovered a small cove, which afforded him a convenient anchorage in two fathoms.

muddy bottom. This cove, which I have named after his relation, Captain Marryat, R.N. is the estuary of a river, which has no doubt contributed to throw up the point.

After Lieutenant Belcher had constructed a plan of the cove, he proceeded to Cape Lisburn; the weather still thick, and the wind blowing at S.W. He nevertheless effected a landing upon the north side of the Cape, and observed its latitude to be $68^{\circ} 52' 3''$ N., and the variation to be $32^{\circ} 23'$ E. From thence he kept close along the shore, for the purpose of falling in with the land expedition, and arrived off Icy Cape on the 19th, when he landed and examined every place in the hope of discovering some traces of Captain Franklin. He found about twenty natives on the point living in tents, who received him very civilly, and assisted him to fill his water casks from a small well they had dug in the sand for their own use. The yourts, which render this point remarkable at a distance, were partly filled with water, and partly with winter store of blubber and oil.

From Icy Cape he stood E.N.E. ten miles, and then N.E. twenty-seven, at which time, in consequence of the weather continuing thick and the wind beginning to blow hard from the south-west, he hauled off shore, and shortly fell in with the main body of ice, which arrested his course and obliged him to put about. It blew so strong during the night that the boat could only show her close-reefed mainsail and storm-jib, under which she plied, in order to avoid the ice on one side and a lee-shore on the other: the boat thus pressed and leaked considerably, and kept the crew at the pumps.

On the 21st August, the weather being more moderate, he again made the ice, and after keeping along

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it some time, returned to Icy Cape, and found that the edge of the packed ice was in latitude $70^{\circ} 41' N.$ in a N.N.W. direction from the cape, extending east and west (true).

On the 23d August another landing was made upon Icy Cape, and its latitude, by artificial horizon, ascertained to be $70^{\circ} 19' 28'' N.$, and variation by Kater's compass $32^{\circ} 49' E.$ Lieutenant Belcher's curiosity was here greatly awakened by one of the natives leading him to a large room used by the Esquimaux for dancing, and by searching for a billet of wood, which his gestures implied had been left by some Europeans, but not finding it, he scrutinized several chips which were in the apartment, and intimated that some person had cut it up. This was very provoking, as Lieutenant Belcher naturally recurred to the possibility of Captain Franklin having been there, and after leaving this billet as a memorial, having returned by the same route. Nothing, however, was found, and Lieutenant Belcher, after depositing a notice of his having been there, embarked and passed the night off the Cape in heavy falls of snow, hail, and sleet. The next day he again fell in with ice in latitude $70^{\circ} 40' N.$ which determined him to stand back to the cape and examine the shoals upon which the ship lost her anchor the preceding year.

On the 26th, the ice was again found in $70^{\circ} 41' N.$, and the next day was traced to the E.S.E. to within five or six miles of the land, and at the distance of about twenty miles to the eastward of Icy Cape. The ice appeared to be on its passage to the southward, and the bergs were large and scattered. Under these circumstances, Lieutenant Belcher, to avoid being beset, stood back to the cape, and had some difficulty in maintaining his station off there, in

consequence of the severity of the weather, which cased his sails, and the clothes of the seamen exposed to the spray, with ice.

Three of his crew at this time became invalids with chilblains and ulcers occasioned by the cold: and the necessity of carrying a press of sail strained the boat to such a degree that she again leaked so fast as to require the pumps to be kept constantly at work. It became necessary, therefore, to seek shelter, and he bore up for Point Hope; but before he reached that place the sea broke twice over the stern of the boat, and nearly swamped her. Upon landing at the point he was met by the natives, who were beginning to prepare their yurts for the winter. His crew here dried their clothes for the first time for several days, and Lieutenant Belcher having obtained the latitude, again put to sea; but finding the weather still so bad that he could not keep the coast with safety, and the period of his rendezvous at Chamisso Island having arrived, he pursued his course for that place, where he found the instructions I had left for him before I proceeded to examine Port Clarence.

Among other things he was desired to collect a quantity of drift-timber, and to erect an observatory upon Choris Peninsula; in which he was engaged, when the wind coming suddenly in upon the shore where the barge was anchored, the crew were immediately ordered on board. It unfortunately happened that the weather was so fine in the morning that only two persons were left in the vessel, and the boat belonging to the barge being small could take only four at a time. One boat-load had joined the vessel, but the surf rose so suddenly, that in the attempt to reach her a second time, the oars were broken, and the boat

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was thrown back by the sea, and rendered nearly useless. Several persevering and unsuccessful efforts were afterwards made to communicate with the vessel, which being anchored in shallow water struck hard upon the ground, and soon filled. Some Esquimaux happened to have a baidar near the spot, and Mr. Belcher compelled them to assist him in reaching the barge; but the sea ran too high, and the natives not being willing to exert themselves, the attempt again failed. The sea was now making a breach over the vessel, and Mr. Belcher desired the cockswain to cut the cable, and allow her to come broadside upon the shore; but whether through fear, or that the cockswain did not understand his orders, it was not done. There were four men and a boy on board at this time, two of whom, finding no hope of relief from the shore, jumped overboard, with spars in their hands, and attempted to gain the beach, but were unfortunately drowned. The others retreated to the rigging; among them was a boy, whose cries were for some time heard on shore, but at length, exhausted with cold and fatigue, he fell from the rigging, and was never seen again.

The party of Esquimaux, who had so reluctantly rendered their personal assistance, beheld this loss of lives with the greatest composure, giving no other aid than that of their prayers and superstitious ceremonies; and seeing the helpless condition of those thrown upon the shore, began to pilfer every thing they could, bringing the party some fish occasionally, not from charitable motives, but for the purpose of engaging their attention, and of affording themselves a better opportunity of purloining the many articles belonging to the boat which were washed ashore. About eleven o'clock at night the sea began to subside,

and at midnight, after very great exertions, a communication with the vessel was effected, and the two remaining seamen were carried on shore, and laid before the fire, where they recovered sufficiently to be taken to a hut near the fatal scene.

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The morning after this unfortunate occurrence, part of the crew were employed collecting what was washed on shore, and preventing the natives committing further depredations. Seeing there was no chance of obtaining any thing more of consequence from the wreck, the party took up its quarters on Point Garnet, where we found them on our return from Port Clarence. Previous to this, several Esquimaux had pitched a tent in the bay close to the party, and lost no opportunity of appropriating to themselves whatever they could surreptitiously obtain. Among these were four persons whom Mr. Belcher had a short time before assisted, when their baidar was thrown on shore, and one of the party drowned. These people did not forget his kindness, and brought him fish occasionally, but they could not resist the temptation of joining their companions in plunder when it was to be had. Mr. Belcher seeing several articles amongst them which must have accompanied others in their possession, searched their bags, and recovered the boat's ensign, and many other things. No opposition was offered to this examination, but, on the contrary, some of the party which had been saved from the wreck of the baidar, intimated to Mr. Belcher that a man who was making off with a bag had part of his property; and on searching him, a quantity of the boat's iron and the lock of a fowling-piece were discovered upon him.

Upon the whole, however, the natives behaved

better than was expected, until the day on which the ship arrived. This appears to have been a timely occurrence; for early that morning two baidars landed near the wreck, and the Esquimaux party was increased to twenty-four. The man who had been searched the preceding evening, finding his friends so numerous, and being joined by another troublesome character, came towards our people, flourishing his knife, apparently with the determination of being revenged. It fortunately happened that there was a person of authority amongst the number, with whom Mr. Belcher effected a friendship. He expostulated with the two refractory men, and one of them went quietly away, but the other remained brandishing his weapon; and there is but too much reason to believe that had he commenced an attack, he would have been seconded by his countrymen, notwithstanding the interference of the chief.

When the ship's boat came to the relief of our party, Mr. Belcher ordered the man who had been so refractory to be bound and taken on board the ship, intimating to the others that he should be kept until more of the stolen property was returned. This they appeared perfectly to understand, as the prisoner pointed to his boat, where, upon search being made, the other lock of the fowling-piece, and a haversack belonging to Lieutenant Belcher, were found. The strength of this man was so great, that it required as many of our people as could stand round to pinion his arms and take him down to the boat. As soon as this was effected, all the other Esquimaux fled to their baidars, and did not approach the place again; the chief excepted, who returned almost immediately, and pitched one tent for himself, and another for the

prisoner. Lieutenant Belcher, in concluding his account of this disastrous affair, speaks in high terms of commendation of the conduct of Mr. (now Lieutenant) Rendall, William Aldridge, and George Shields, seamen, and of Thomas Hazlehurst, marine; and it is with much pleasure I embrace the opportunity of giving publicity to their meritorious behaviour.

I must exonerate Lieutenant Belcher from any blame that may attach to him as commander of the vessel; for though her loss was evidently occasioned by her being too close in shore, and by too few a number of persons being left on board, yet it is to be observed, that she was only a boat; that the crew were upon the beach in readiness to assist her; and that had it been a case of ordinary nature, they would no doubt have succeeded in their object. In place of this, however, the wind changed suddenly, and the sea rose so fast that there was no possibility of effecting what, under general circumstances, would have been perfectly practicable: the water, besides, was two feet lower than usual. The strenuous exertions of Lieutenant Belcher to save the crew, and his resolute conduct toward the natives, after he was thrown amongst them unprovided with arms, a brace of pistols excepted, show him to be an officer both of humanity and courage.

After the loss of our favourite boat, parties were repeatedly sent to the wreck, in the hope of being able to raise her, or to procure what they could from her cabin and holds; but she was completely wrecked and filled with sand, and a few days afterwards went to pieces. Mr. Belcher was a great loser by this unfortunate accident, as he was well provided with instruments, books, papers, &c., and had some expensive fowling-pieces and pistols, all of which were lost or

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spoiled; and this was the more provoking, as some of them had been purchased to supply the place of those he had the misfortune to lose when upset in the cutter at Oeno Island. I am happy to say the government, on the representation of his peculiar case, made him a compensation.

On the 12th the body of one of the seamen, Thomas Uren, was found near the place where the boat was wrecked; and on the Sunday following it was attended to the grave by all the officers and ship's company. The place of interment was on the low point of Chamisso Island, by the side of our shipmate who had been buried there the preceding year.

On the 13th we were visited by two baidars, and among their crews discovered the party who had visited the ship so early in the morning, when she was at the anchorage in August, one of whom drew his knife upon the first lieutenant; they were also of the party which made an attack upon our cutter in Escholtz Bay the preceding year. They had with them a few skins and some fish for sale, but they were very scrupulous about what they took for them; and on being ordered away late in the evening, they twanged their bows in an insolent manner, and pushed off about a couple of yards only. The officer of the watch desired them to go away, and at length presented a musket at the baidar, on which they fired an arrow into the sea in the direction of the ship, and paddled to the island, where we observed them take up their quarters.

When the boats landed the next day to fill the casks, Mr. Smyth, who had charge of the party, was desired to arm his people, and to order the Esquimaux off the island if they were offensive to him, or interfered with the duty. On landing, the natives met him on the

beach, and were very anxious to learn whether the muskets were loaded, and to be allowed to feel the edges of the cutlasses, and were not at all pleased at having their request refused. The arms were rolled up in the sail for the purpose of being kept dry, but one of the natives insisted on having the canvas unrolled, to see what it contained, and on being refused he drew his knife, and threatened the seaman who had charge of it. Coupling this act with the conduct of the party on the before-mentioned occasions, Mr. Smyth ordered the arms to be loaded; on which the natives fled to their baidar, and placed every thing in her in readiness to depart on a minute's warning, and then, armed with their bows and arrows and knives, they drew up on a small eminence, and twanged their bow-strings, as before, in defiance. A few minutes before this occurred, five of the party, who had separated from their companions, attacked two of our seamen, who were at some distance from Mr. Smyth, digging a grave for their unfortunate shipmate, and coming suddenly upon them, while in the pit, three of the party stood over the workmen with their drawn knives, while the others rifled the pockets of their jackets, which were lying at a little distance from the grave, and carried away the contents, together with an axe. The hostile disposition of the natives on the hill, who were drawn up in a line in a menacing attitude, with their bows ready strung, and their knives in their left hands, obliged Mr. Smyth to arm his people, and, in compliance with his instructions, to proceed to drive them off the island. He accordingly advanced upon them, and each individual probably had singled out his victim, when an aged man of the Esquimaux party made offers of peace, and the arms of both parties were laid aside. The media-

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tor signified that he wanted a tub, that had been left at the well, which was restored to him, and the axe that had been taken from the grave was returned to our party. The Esquimaux then embarked, and paddled towards Escholtz Bay. I have been thus particular in describing the conduct of these people, in consequence of a more tragical affair which occurred a few days afterwards.

Strong winds prevented the completion of our water for several days ; but on the 29th it was in progress, when the same party landed upon the island near our boat. The day being very fine, several of the officers had gone in pursuit of ptarmigan, which were about this time collecting in large flocks previous to their migration ; and I was completing a series of magnetical observation in another part of the island. The first lieutenant observing a baidar full of men approach the island, despatched Lieutenant Belcher to the place with orders to send them away, provided there were any of the party among them who had behaved in so disorderly a manner on the recent occasion. On landing, he immediately recognised one of the men, and ordered the whole of the party into the baidar. They complied very reluctantly ; and while our seamen were engaged pushing them off, they were occupied in preparations for hostility, by putting on their eider-duck frocks over their usual dresses, and uncovering their bows and arrows. They paddled a few yards from the beach, and then rested in doubt as to what they should do ; some menacing our party, and others displaying their weapons. Thus threatened, and the party making no attempt to depart, but rather propelling their baidar sidewise toward the land, Mr. Belcher fired a ball between them and the shore, and

waved them to begone. Instead of obeying his summons, they paddled on shore instantly, and quitted their baidar for a small eminence near the beach, from whence they discharged a flight of arrows, which wounded two of our seamen. Their attack was of course returned, and one of the party was wounded in the leg by a musket ball.

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Until this time they were ignorant of the effect of fire-arms, and no doubt placed much confidence in the thickness of their clothing, as, in addition to their eider-duck dress over their usual frock, they each bound a deer-skin round them as they quitted their baidar; but seeing the furs availed nothing against a ball, they fled with precipitation to the hills; and the commanding officer of the Blossom observing them running towards the place where I was engaged with the dipping needle, fired a gun from the ship, which first apprised me of anything being amiss. On the arrival of the cutter, I joined Mr. Belcher, and, with a view of getting the natives into our possession, I sent a boat along the beach, and went with a party over land. We had not proceeded far, when suddenly four of the marines were wounded with arrows from a small ravine, in which we found a party so screened by long grass that it was not visible until we were close upon it. The natives were lying upon the ground, peeping between the blades of grass, and discharging their arrows as opportunity offered. In return, one of them suffered by a ball from Mr. Elson; on which I stopped the firing, and endeavoured ineffectually to bring them to terms. After a considerable time, an elderly man came forward with his arms and breast covered with mud, motioned us to begone, and decidedly rejected all offers of reconciliation. Unwilling to chastise them

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further, I withdrew the party, and towed their baidar on board, which kept them prisoners upon the island. I did this in order to have an opportunity of bringing about a reconciliation, for I was unwilling to allow them to depart with sentiments which might prove injurious to any Europeans who might succeed us; and I thought that by detaining them we should be able to convince them our resentment was unjustifiably provoked, and that when they conducted themselves properly, they should command our friendship. This baidar had a large incision in her bottom, made by the person who last quitted her when the party landed, and must have been done either with a view of preventing her being carried away, or by depriving themselves of the means of escape, showing their resolution to conquer or to die. We repaired her as well as we could, and kept her in readiness to be restored to her owners on the first favourable opportunity that offered.

The next morning a boat was sent to bring them to friendly terms, and to return everything that was in the baidar, except some fish which they had brought for sale, in lieu of which some blue beads and tobacco were left, but the natives were averse to reconciliation, and kept themselves concealed. The night was severely cold, with snow showers; and next day, seeing nothing of the party, the baidar was returned. The natives removed her during the night to the opposite side of the island, where she appeared to be undergoing an additional repair; but we saw none of the people, who must have secreted themselves on the approach of the boat. We took every opportunity of showing them we wished to obtain their friendship, but to no purpose; they would not make their appearance, and the next night decamped, leaving a few old

skins in return for the articles we had left for them. —On examining the ravine in which they had concealed themselves, we found one man lying dead, with his bow and quiver, containing five arrows, placed under his body, and clothed in the same manner as when he quitted the baidar. The ravine was conveniently adapted to the defence of a party, being narrow, with small banks on each side of it, behind which a party might discharge their arrows without much danger to themselves until they became closely beset; to obviate which as much as possible, and to sell their lives as dearly as they could, we found they had constructed pits in the earth by scooping out holes sufficiently large to contain a man, and by banking up the mud above them. There were five of these excavations close under the edges of the banks, which were undermined; one at the head of the ravine, and two on each side, about three yards lower down; the latter had a small communication at the bottom, through which an arrow might be transferred from one person to another, without incurring the risk of being seen by passing it over the top. The construction of these pits must have occupied the man who presented himself to us with his arms covered with mud: as a defence they were as perfect as circumstances would allow, and while they show the resources of the people, they mark a determination of obstinate resistance. The effect of the arrows was fully as great as might have been expected, and, had they been properly directed, would have inflicted mortal wounds. At the distance of a hundred yards a flesh-wound was produced in the thigh, which disabled the man for a time; and at eight or ten yards another fixed the right arm of a marine to his side; a third buried itself two

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inches and a half under the scalp. The wounds which they occasioned were obliged to be either enlarged, to extract the arrows, which were barbed, or to have an additional incision made, that the arrow might be pushed through without further laceration. Most of these wounds were inflicted by an arrow with a bone head, tipped with a pointed piece of jasper.

We were sorry to find our musketry had inflicted so severe a chastisement upon these people, but it was unavoidable, and richly deserved. It was some consolation to reflect that it had fallen upon a party from whom we had received repeated insult, and it was not until after they had threatened our boat in Escholtz Bay, insulted us alongside the ship, defied our party on shore, had twice drawn their knives upon our people, and had wounded several of them, that they were made acquainted with the nature of our fire-arms; and I am convinced the example will have a good effect, by teaching them that it was forbearance alone that induced us to tolerate their conduct so long.

For the purpose of keeping together the particulars of our transactions with the Esquimaux, I have omitted to mention several occurrences in the order in which they transpired. Many circumstances indicate an earlier approach of winter than we had experienced the preceding year. About the middle of September therefore, we began to prepare the ship for departure, by completing the water, taking on stone ballast, in lieu of the provisions that had expended, and refitting the rigging. These operations were for several days interrupted by strong winds, which occasioned much sea at the anchor, and very unaccountably had the effect of pro-

remarkably low tides, and of checking the rise which on several occasions was scarcely perceptible.

On the 18th a party of the officers landed in Escholtz Bay to search for fossils, but they were unsuccessful, in consequence of an irregularity in the tide, which was on that occasion unaccountably high, and scarcely fell during the day. The cliffs had broken away considerably since the preceding year, and the frozen surface of the cliff appeared in smaller quantities than before, but the earth was found congealed at a less depth from the top. This examination tended to confirm more steadfastly the opinion that the ice forms only a coating to the cliff, and is occasioned by small streams of water oozing out, which either become congealed themselves in their descent, or convert into ice the snow which rests in the hollows.

On the 24th and 28th the nights were clear and frosty, and the aurora borealis was seen forming several arches. On the 28th the display was very brilliant and interesting, as it had every appearance of being between the clouds and the earth; and after one of these displays, several meteors were observed issuing from parts of the arch, and falling obliquely toward the earth. This was also one of the rare instances of the aurora being seen to the southward of our zenith.

In the beginning of October we had heavy frosts and heavy falls of snow. On the 4th the earth was deeply covered, and the lakes were frozen; the thermometer during the night fell to 25° , and at noon on the 5th to 24° , and there was every appearance of the winter having commenced. It therefore became my duty seriously to consider on the propriety of continuing longer in these seas. We had received no intelligence of Captain Franklin's party, nor was it

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very probable that it could now appear, and we could only hope, as the time had arrived when it would be imperative on us to withdraw from him, the only relief he could experience in these seas, that he had met with insurmountable obstacles to his proceeding, and had retraced his route up the McKenzie River.

Anxious, however, to remain to the last, on the chance of being useful to him, I again solicited the opinions of the officers as to the state of the season, and finding them unanimous in believing the season to have commenced, and that the ship could remain longer in Kotzebue Sound with safety, I determined to quit the anchorage the moment the wind would permit. Weighing the probability of Captain Franklin's arrival at this late period in the season, no one on board, I believe, thought there was the smallest chance of it; for, had his prospects the preceding year been such as to justify his wintering upon the coast, the distance remaining to be accomplished in the present season would have been so short that he could scarcely fail to have performed it early in the summer, in which case we must have seen him before this date, unless, indeed, he had reached Cape, and found it advisable to return by his route, a contingency authorised by his instructions. Upon the chance of his arrival after the departure of the ship, the provision that had been buried for use was allowed to remain, and the billet of wood again deposited on the island, containing a statement of the behaviour of the natives, and of other particulars, with which it was important that he should be made acquainted.

On the 6th, sharp frosty weather continuing, weighed from Chamisso, and beat out of the son

In passing Cape Krusenstern we perceived a blink in the N.W. direction, similar to that over ice, and it is not unlikely that the westerly winds which were so prevalent all the summer had drifted it from the Asiatic shore, where it rests against the land in a much lower parallel than upon the American coast.

As we receded from the sound the wind freshened from the N.W. with every appearance of a gale; we kept at a reasonable distance from the land until day light, and then steered towards Cape Prince of Wales, with a view of passing Beering's Strait. Our depth of water thus far had been about fifteen fathoms, but at eleven o'clock in the forenoon it began to diminish, and the sea being high, the course was altered, to increase our distance from the coast; we had scarcely done this when the water shoaled still more, and a long line of breakers was observed stretching from the land, crossing our course, and extending several miles to windward. The weather was so hazy that we could scarcely see the land; but it was evident that we had run down between the coast and a shoal, and as there was no prospect of being able to weather the land on the opposite tack, the only alternative was to force the ship through the breakers; we accordingly started for those parts where the sea broke the least, and kept the ship going at the rate of seven knots, in order, as the shoal appeared to be very narrow, that she might not hang, in the event of touching the ground.

The sea ran very high, and we entered the broken water in breathless suspense, as there was very little prospect of saving the ship, in the event of her becoming fixed upon the shoal. Four fathoms and a half was communicated from the anchor, a depth in

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which it may be recollected we disturbed the bottom in crossing the bar of San Francisco, the same depth was again reported, and we pursued our course momentarily expecting to strike. Fortunately this was the least depth of water, and before long our soundings increased to twenty fathoms, when having escaped the danger, we resumed our course for the strait.

This shoal, which appears to extend from Cape Prince of Wales, taking the direction of the current through the strait, is extremely dangerous, in consequence of the water shoaling so suddenly, and having deep water within it, by which a ship coming from the northward may be led down between the shoal and the land, without any suspicion of her danger. Though we had nothing less than twenty-seven feet water, as near as the soundings could be ascertained in so high a sea, yet, from the appearance of the breakers outside the place where the ship crossed, the depth is probably less. It is remarkable that this spit of sand, extending so far as it does from the land, should have hitherto escaped the observation of the Russians, as well as of our countrymen. Cook, in his chart, marks five fathoms close off the cape, and Kotzebue three, but this spit appeared to extend six or seven miles from it. It is true that the weather was very hazy, and we might have been deceived in our distance from the shore: but it is also probable that the spit may be extending itself rapidly.

We passed Beering's Strait about one o'clock, as usual with a close reefed topsail breeze, and afterward ran with a fresh gale until midnight, when, as I wished to see the eastern end of St. Lawrence Island, we

rounded to for daylight. It was, however, of little consequence, as the weather was so foggy the next day that we could not see far around us. As we approached the island, flocks of alca crestatella and of eider and king ducks, and several species of phalaropes, flew about us, but no land was distinguished. About noon the water shoaling gradually to eleven fathoms, created a doubt whether we were not running upon the island; but on altering the course to the eastward, it deepened again, and by the observations of the next day it appeared that the ship had passed over a shoal lying between St. Lawrence Island and the main. It is a curious fact, that this shoal is precisely in the situation assigned to a small island which Captain Cook named after his surgeon, Mr. Anderson; and as that island has never been seen since, many persons, relying upon the general accuracy of that great navigator, might suppose the island to have been sunk by some such convulsion as raised the island of Amnuk in the same sea; while others might take occasion from this fact to impeach the judgment of Cook. I am happy to have an opportunity of reconciling opinions on this subject, having discovered a note by Captain Bligh, who was the master with Captain Cook, written in pencil on the margin of the Admiralty copy of Cook's third voyage, by which it is evident that the compilers of the chart have overlooked certain data collected off the eastern end of St. Lawrence Island, on the return of the expedition from Norton Sound, and that the land, named Anderson's Island, was the eastern end of the island of St. Lawrence; and had Cook's life been spared, he would no doubt have made the necessary correction in his chart.

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Thick weather continued until the 10th, when, after some hard showers of snow, it dispersed, and afforded us an opportunity of determining the position of the ship, by observation, which agreed very nearly with the reckoning, and showed there had been no current of consequence. Two days afterwards we saw the island of St. Paul, and endeavoured to close it, in order to examine its outline, and compare our observations with those of the preceding year; but the wind obliged us to pass at the distance of eight miles to the eastward, and we could only accomplish the latter. The next morning we passed to the eastward of St. George's Island, and fixed its position also. This was the island we were anxious to see the preceding year, as its situation upon our chart was very uncertain, and in some of the most approved charts it is omitted altogether.

Off here we observed a number of shags, a few albatrosses, flocks of ortolans, and a sea otter..

At daylight on the 14th, we saw the Aleutian Islands, and steered for an opening which by our reckoning should have been the same strait through which we passed on a former occasion; but the islands being covered more than half way down with a dense fog, we were unable to ascertain our position correctly; and it was not until the latitude was determined by observation that we discovered we were steering for the wrong passage. This mistake was occasioned by a current S. 34° W. true, at the rate of nearly three miles an hour, which in the last twelve hours had drifted the ship thirty-five miles to the westward of her expected position. Fortunately the wind was fair, and enabled us to correct our error by carrying a press of sail. Before sunset we got sight

of the Needle Rock in the channel of Oonemak, and passed through the strait. The strength and uncertainty of the currents about these islands should make navigators very cautious how they approach them in thick weather: whenever there is any doubt, the most certain course is to steer due east, and make the Island of Oonemak, which may be known by its latitude, being thirty miles more northerly than any other part of the chain; and then to keep along its shores at the distance of four or five miles, until the Needle Rock, which lies nearly opposite the Island of Coogalga, is passed; after which the coast on both sides trends nearly east and west, and a ship has an open sea before her.

The Aleutian Islands, when we passed, were covered about two-thirds of the way down with snow, and indicated an earlier winter than they had done the preceding year.

Having taken our final leave of Beering's Strait, all hope of the attainment of the principal object of the expedition in the Polar Sea was at an end; and the fate of the expedition under Captain Franklin, which was then unknown to us, was a subject of intense interest. Amidst the disappointment this failure in meeting with him had occasioned us, we had the consolation of knowing that, whatever vicissitudes might have befallen his party, our efforts to maintain our station in both years had, by the blessing of Providence, been successful, so that at no period of the appointed time of rendezvous could he have missed both the boat and the ship, or have arrived at the

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appointed place in Kotzebue Sound without finding the anticipated relief.

The enterprising voyage of Captain Franklin down the Mackenzie, and along the northern shores of the continent of America, is now familiar to us: all, and considering that the distance between the extremities of our discoveries was less than fifty leagues, and that giving him ten days to perform it in, he would have arrived at Point Barrow at the precise period with our boat, we must ever regret that he could not have been made acquainted with our advanced situation, as in that case he would have been justified in incurring a risk which would have been unwarrantable under any other circumstances. Let me not for a moment be supposed by this to detract one leaf from the laurels that have been gained by Captain Franklin and his enterprising associates, who, through obstacles which would have been insurmountable by persons of less daring and persevering minds, have brought us acquainted with an extent of country which, added to the discovery it was our good fortune to push so far along the shore to the westward of them, has left a very small portion of the coast unknown.

The extent of land thus left unexplored between Point Turnagain and Ice Cape is comparatively so insignificant that, as regards the question of the north-west passage, it may be considered to be known; and in this point of view both expeditions, though they did not meet, may be said to have been fully successful. From the nature and similarity of the coast at Return Reef and Point Barrow, it is very probable that the land from Franklin Extreme trends gradually to the eastward to Return Reef, leaving Point Barrow in latitude $71^{\circ} 28' 30''$ N. the northern limit of the continent of America.

The determination of this great geographical question is undoubtedly important; but though it sets a boundary to the new continent, and so far diminishes the difficulties attending an attempt to effect a passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic, yet it leaves the practicability of the north-west passage nearly as doubtful as ever; and it is evident that it cannot be otherwise, until the obstructions set forth in Captain Parry's voyage are removed, as it would avail little to be able to reach Hecla and Fury Strait, provided that channel were always impassable.

From what has been set forth, in the foregoing narrative of our proceedings, it is nearly certain that, by watching the opportunity, a vessel may reach Point Barrow, and in all probability proceed beyond it. Had we been permitted to make this attempt, we should no doubt be able to speak more positively upon this subject; and, as I have always been of opinion that a navigation may be performed along any coast of the Polar Sea that is *continuous*, I can see no insurmountable obstacle to the exploit. In this attempt, however, it is evident that a vessel must be prepared to encounter very heavy pressure from the ice, and must expect, on the ice closing the coast to the westward of Point Barrow, which it unquestionably would with every strong westerly wind, to be driven on shore in the manner in which our boat was in 1826.

As regards the question, whether it be advisable to attempt the passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the advantage of being able to pursue the main land with certainty from Icy Cape is unquestionably great, and the recollection that in that route every foot gained to the eastward is an advance towards the point whence supplies and succours may be obtained, is a

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cheering prospect to those who are engaged in such an expedition. But while I so far advocate an attempt from this quarter, it must not be overlooked that the length of the voyage round Cape Horn, and the vicissitudes of climate to be endured, present material objections to prosecuting the enterprise by that course.

It does not appear that any preference can be given to the western route from prevailing winds or currents, as both are so variable and uncertain, that no dependence can be placed upon them. In 1826, easterly winds prevailed almost throughout the summer, both on the northern coast of America, and in the open sea to the westward of Icy Cape: while in 1827, in the latter situation at least, the reverse took place. And as the coincidence of winds experienced by Captain Franklin and ourselves in 1826 is very remarkable, there is every probability that the same winds prevailed to the eastward of Point Barrow.

The current, though it unquestionably sets to the northward through Beering's Strait, in the summer at least, does not appear to influence the sea on the northern coast of America which is navigable; as Captain Franklin, after the experience of a whole season, was unable to detect any current in either direction. In the sea to the westward of Icy Cape, the current setting through Beering's Strait is turned off by Point Hope, and does not appear to have any perceptible influence on the water to the north-eastward of Icy Cape; for the current there, though it ran strong at times, seemed to be influenced entirely by the prevailing wind. The body of water which finds its way into the Polar Sea must undoubtedly have an outlet, and one of these appears to be the Strait of Hecla and Fury; but as this current is not felt between the ice

and the continent of America, the only part of the sea that is navigable, it must rather impede than favour the enterprise, by blocking the ice against both the strait, and the western coast of Melville Peninsula. Upon the whole, however, I am disposed to favour the western route, and am of opinion that could steam vessels properly fitted, and adapted to the service, arrive in good condition in Kotzebue Sound, by the beginning of one summer, they might with care and patience succeed in reaching the western shore of Melville Peninsula in the next. There, however, they would undoubtedly be stopped, and have to encounter difficulties which had repulsed three of the most persevering attempts ever made toward the accomplishment of a similar object.

I shall now offer a few remarks upon the inhabitants whom we met upon this coast.

The western Esquimaux appear to be intimately connected with the tribes inhabiting the northern and north-eastern shores of America, in language, features, manners, and customs. They at the same time, in many respects, resemble the Tschutschi, from whom they are probably descended. These affinities I shall notice as I proceed with my remarks upon the people inhabiting the north-west coast of America, whom, for the convenience of the reader, I shall call the western Esquimaux, in order to distinguish them from the tribes inhabiting Hudson's Bay, Greenland, Igloolik, and indeed from the places eastward of Point Barrow. This line ought properly to be drawn at the Kenzie River, in consequence of certain peculiarities connecting the people seen near that spot with the tribe to the westward; but it will be more convenient to confine it within the above-mentioned limits. These people inhabit the north-west coast of Ame-

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rica, from $60^{\circ} 34' N.$ to $71^{\circ} 24' N.$, and are a nation of fishermen dwelling upon or near the sea shore, from which they derive almost exclusively their subsistence. They construct yourts or winter residences upon those parts of the shore which are adapted to their convenience, such as the mouths of rivers, the entrances of inlets, or jutting points of land, but always upon low ground. They form themselves into communities which seldom exceed a hundred persons; though in some few instances they have amounted to upward of two hundred. Between the above-mentioned limits we noticed nineteen of these villages, some of which were very small, and consisted of only a few huts, and others appeared to have been deserted a long time but allowing them all to be inhabited in the winter, the whole population, I should think, including Kow-ee rock, would not amount to more than 2500 persons. I do not pretend to say that this estimate is accurate as from the manner in which the people are dispersed along the coast in the summer, it is quite impossible that it should be so; but it may serve to show that the tribe is not very numerous.

As we landed upon every part of the coast, to which these villages appear to be confined, it is not likely that many escaped our observation; neither is it probable that there are many inland or far up the rivers as frequent access to the sea is essential to the habits of the people. Besides this may further be inferred from the circumstance of no Esquimaux villages being found up either the M'Kenzie or Coppermine rivers and from the swampy nature of the country in general, and the well-known hostile disposition of the Indians towards the Esquimaux.

Their yourts or winter residences are partly excavated in the earth, and partly covered with moss laid

pon poles of driftwood. There are, however, several kinds of habitations, which seem to vary in their construction according to the nature of the ground and the taste of the inhabitants. Some are wholly above ground, others have their roof scarcely raised above it; some resemble those of the Tschutschi, and others those of the natives near Prince William Sound; but they all agree in being constructed with driftwood covered with peat, and in having the light admitted through a hole in the roof covered with the intestines of sea animals. The natives reside in these abodes during the winter, and when the season approaches at which they commence their wanderings, they launch their baidars, and taking their families with them, spread along the coast in quest of food and clothing for the ensuing winter. An experienced fisherman knows the places which are most abundant in fish and seals, and resorts thither in the hope of being the first occupier of the station. Thus almost every point of land and the mouths of all the rivers are taken possession of by the tribe. Here they remain, and pass their time, no doubt, very happily, in the constant occupation of taking salmon, seals, walrusses, and reindeer, and collecting peltry, of which the beaver-skins are of very superior quality, or whatever else they can procure, which may prove useful as winter store.

During their absence the villages are left in charge of a few elderly women and children, with a youth or two to assist them, who, besides preventing depredations, are deputed to cleanse and prepare the yurts for the reception of the absentees at the approach of winter. As long as the fine weather lasts they live under tents made of deer-skins laced upon poles; but about the middle of September, they break up these

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establishments, load their baidars with provisions, their labour, and track them along the coast with dogs towards their yurts, in which they take up their winter station as before, and regale themselves after the success by dancing, singing, and banqueting, as appears to be the custom with the Eastern Esquimaux and from their having large rooms appropriated to such diversions.

These winter stations may always be known at a distance by trunks of trees, and frames erected near them some supporting sledges and skins of oil, and other the scantling of boats, caiacs, fishing implements, &c.

We had no opportunity of witnessing their occupations in the winter, which must consist in the construction of implements for the forthcoming season of activity, in making clothes, and carving and ornamenting their property, for almost every article made of bone is covered with devices. They appear to have no king or governor, but, like the patriarchal tribes, to venerate and obey the aged. They have sometimes a great fear of the old women who pretend to witchcraft.

It seems probable that their religion is the same as that of the Eastern Esquimaux, and that they have similar conjurers and sorcerers. We may infer that they have an idea of a future state, from the fact of their placing near the graves of their departed friends the necessary implements for procuring a subsistence in this world, such as harpoons, bows, and arrows, caiacs, &c. and by clothing the body decently; and from the circumstance of musical instruments being suspended to the poles of the sepulchres, it would seem that they consider such state not to be devoid of enjoyment. Their mode of burial differs from that of the Eastern Esquimaux, who inter their dead; whereas these people

pose the corpse upon a platform of wood, and raise a pile over it with young trees. The position in which the bodies are laid also differs; the head being placed to the westward by this nation, while in the eastern tribes it lies to the north-east.

They are taller in stature than the Eastern Esquimaux, their average height being about five feet seven and a half inches. They are also a better looking race, if I may judge from the natives I saw in Baffin's Bay, and from the portraits of others that have been published. At a comparatively early age, however, they (the women in particular) soon lose this comeliness, and old age is attended with a haggard and care-worn countenance, rendered more unbecoming by sore eyes, and by teeth worn to the gums by frequent mastication of hard substances.

They differ widely in disposition from the inhabitants of Igloodik and Greenland, being more continent, industrious, and provident, and rather partaking of the warlike, irascible, and uncourteous temper of the Tschutschi. Neither do they appear by any means so deficient in filial affection as the natives of Igloodik, who as soon as they commenced their summer excursions left their aged and infirm to perish in the villages; of whom it will be recollected that one old man, in particular, must have fallen a victim to this unnatural neglect, had not his horrible fate been arrested by the timely humanity of the commander of the polar expedition.

With the Western Esquimaux, as indeed with almost all uncivilized tribes, hospitality seems to form one characteristic feature of the disposition; as if Nature, by the gift of this virtue, had intended to check, in some measure, that ferocity which is otherwise so predominant.

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Smoking is their favourite habit, in which they indulge as long as their tobacco lasts. Parties assemble to enjoy the fumes of this narcotic, and the pipe passes round like the calumet of the Indians, but apparently without the ceremony being binding. Their pipes are short, and the bowls of some contain no more tobacco than can be consumed in a long whiff; indeed, the great pleasure of the party often consists in individuals endeavouring to excel each other in exhausting the contents of the bowl at one breath, and many a laugh is indulged at the expense of him who fails, or who, as is very frequently the case, is thrown into a fit of coughing by the smoke getting into his lungs.

They seldom use tobacco in any other way than this, though some natives whom we saw to the southward of Beering's Strait were not averse to chewing it, and the St. Lawrence islanders indulged in snuff. Their predilection for tobacco is no doubt derived from the Tschutchi, who are so passionately fond of it, that they are said, by Captain Cochrane, to snuff, chew, and smoke, all at the same time. The practice of adulterating tobacco is common with the Tschutchi, and has, no doubt, passed from them to the Esquimaux, who often adopt it from choice. That which finds its way to the N.W. coast of America is of very inferior quality, and often has dried wood chopped up with it.

The ornaments worn in the lip, described in the course of this narrative, are peculiar to the males of the Western Esquimaux, and are in use only from Norton Sound, where they were seen by Captain King, to the Mackenzie River, where they were worn by the party which attacked Captain Franklin. The practice is by no means modern, as Deschnew, as far back as 1648, describes the inhabitants of the

lands opposite Tschutskoi Noss as having pieces of sea-horse tusk thrust into holes in their lips. No lip ornaments similar to these have been seen to the eastward of the Mackenzie River; and indeed we know of no other tribe which has adopted this singular custom of disfiguring the face, except that inhabiting the coast near Prince William Sound, and even there the arrangement differs. It is remarkable that the practice with them is confined to the women, while in the tribe to the northward it is limited to the men. It is also singular, that this barbarous custom of the males is confined to so small a portion of the coast, while that by which the females are distinguished extends from Greenland, along the northern and western shores of America, down to California.

Nasal ornaments, so common with the tribes to the southward of Oonalaska, were seen by us in one instance only, and were then worn by the females of a party whose dialect differed from that in general use with the tribe to the westward of Point Barrow. The custom disappears to the northward of Alaska, and occurs again in the tribe near the Mackenzie River. A similar break in the link of fashion in the same nation may be traced in the practice of shaving the crown of the head, which is general with the Western Esquimaux, ceases at the Mackenzie River, and appears again in Hudson's Bay, and among a tribe of Greenlanders, who, when they were discovered by Captain Ross, had been so long excluded from intercourse with any other people, that they imagined themselves the only living human beings upon the face of the globe.*

* See a letter from Captain Edward Sabine, *Journal of Science*, vol. vii.

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It was remarked that the inhabitants of Point Barrow had copper kettles, and were in several respects better supplied with European articles than the natives who resided to the southward. Captain Parry found among the Esquimaux near the Mackenzie several of these kettles, and other manufactures which were so unlike those supplied by the North-west Company, as to leave no doubt of their being obtained from the westward. Connecting these facts with the behaviour of the natives who visited us off Wainwright Inlet, and the information obtained by Augustus, the interpreter, it is very probable that between the Mackenzie River and Point Barrow there is an agent who receives these articles from the Asiatic coast, and parts with them in exchange for furs. Augustus learned from the Esquimaux that the people from whom these articles were procured resided up a river to the westward of Return Reef. The copper kettles, in all probability, come from the Russians, as the Tschutshi have such an aversion to utensils made of that metal, that they will not even use one when lined with tin.* From the cautious manner in which the whole tribe dispose of their furs, reserving the most valuable for larger prices than we felt inclined to give, and sometimes producing only the inferior ones, we were induced to suspect that there were several Esquimaux acting as agents upon the coast, properly instructed by their employers in Kamschatka, who, having collected the best furs from the natives, crossed over with them to the Asiatic coast, and returned with the necessary articles for the purchase of others.

I regret that we never had an opportunity of seeing

the Esquimaux in pursuit of their game, or in any way actively employed, except in transporting their goods along the coast. One cause for this is that they relinquished all occupation on our appearance, to obtain some of the riches that were on board the ship. It may, however, be inferred, from the carvings upon their ivory implements, that their employments are numerous, and very similar to those practised by the Greenlanders. Of these, rein-deer hunting appears to be the most common. If we may credit the sculptured instruments, they shoot these animals with bows and arrows, which, from the shyness of the deer, must require great skill and artifice to effect. The degree of skill may be inferred from the distance at which some of the parties are drawn shooting their arrows, and the artifice is shown by a device of a deer's head and horns placed upon the shoulders of a person creeping on all-fours towards the animal, after the manner of the Californian Indians, and of some of the inland tribes of North America. We found the flint head of an arrow which had been used for this purpose broken in a haunch of venison that was purchased from the inhabitants near Icy Cape. In some of the representations the deer are seen swimming in the water, and the Esquimaux harpooning them from their caiacs, in the manner represented in the plate in Captain Parry's Second Voyage, p. 508.

As an instance of their method of killing whales, we found a harpoon in one that was dead, with a drag attached to it made of an inflated seal-skin. It must be extremely difficult for these people, with their slender means, to capture these enormous animals, and it must require considerable perseverance. The occupation, however, appears to be less hazardous

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than that of killing walrusses, which, by the devices upon the instruments, occasionally attack the *caïacs*. The implements for taking these animals are the same as described by Captain Parry. Seals are also captured in the manner described by him. Upon some of the bone implements there are correct representations of persons creeping along the ice towards their prey, which appears to have been decoyed by an inflated seal-skin placed near the edge of the ice; an artifice frequently practised by the eastern tribes. These animals are also taken in very strong nets made of walrus-hide; and another mode is by harpooning them with a dart about five feet in length, furnished with a barb, which is disengaged from its socket when it strikes the animal, and being fastened by a line to the centre of the staff, the harpoon acts as a drag. This instrument is discharged with a throwing board, which is easily used, and gives very great additional force to the dart, and in the hands of a skilful person will send a dart to a considerable distance. The throwing board is mentioned also by Captain Parry, by Crantz, and others, and corresponds with the *womoru* of New Zealand.

We noticed in the possession of a party to the northward of Kotzebue Sound a small ivory instrument, similar to the *keipkuttuk* of the Igloodik tribe.

Birds are likewise struck with darts which resemble the *nuguit* of Greenland; they are also caught in whalebone snares, and by having their flight arrested by a number of balls attached to thongs about two feet in length: they are sometimes shot with arrows purposely constructed with blunt heads.

The practice of firing at a mark appears to be one of the amusements of the Esquimaux; and judging from what we saw at Chamisso Island, there are some extra-

ordinary performers in this way among the tribe. One day a diver was swimming at the distance of thirty yards from the beach, and a native was offered a reward if he would shoot it: he fired, but the bird evaded the arrow by diving. The Esquimaux watched its coming to the surface, and the instant his head appeared he transfixed both eyes with his arrow. He was rewarded for his skilfulness, and the skin was preserved as a specimen of ornithology and of Indian archery. Generally speaking, however, I do not think they are expert marksmen.

Their bows are shaped differently to those of Igloodik, and are superior to any on the eastern coast of America; they are, however, made upon the same principle, with sinews and wedges at the back of the wood. On the western coast driftwood is so abundant that the inhabitants have their choice of several trees, and are never obliged to piece their implements. It requires some care to bring a bow to the form which they consider best; and for this purpose they wrap it in shavings soaked in water, and hold it over a fire; it is then pegged down upon the earth in the form required. If not attended to when used, the bows are apt to get out of order, and the string to slip out of its place, by which the bow bends the wrong way, and is easily broken.

In these bows the string is in contact with about a foot of the wood at each end, and when used makes a report which would be fatal to secrecy. The Californians, accustomed to fight in ambush, are very careful to have that part of the string muffled with fur, but I never saw any precaution of the kind used by the Esquimaux. To protect the wrist from the abrasion which would ensue from frequent firing, the

Esquimaux buckle on a piece of ivory, called *mun-er-a*, about three or four inches long, hollowed out to the wrist, or a guard made of several pieces of ivory or wood fastened together like an ironholder.

Fishing implements are more numerous and varied with the Western Esquimaux than with the others, and some are constructed with much neatness and ingenuity; but I do not know that any of them require description, except a landing net, and that only because it is not mentioned by Captain Parry. This consists of a circular frame of wood or bone, about eight inches in diameter, worked across with whale-bone like the bottoms of cane chairs, and fixed upon a long wooden handle.

Of all their manufactures, that of ivory chains is the most ingenious. These are cut out of solid pieces of ivory, each link being separately relieved, and are sometimes twenty-six inches in length. For what purpose they are used I know not; but part of the last link is frequently left solid, and formed in imitation of a whale; and these chains being strong, they may in some way or other be appropriated to the capture of that animal.

Among a great many singularly shaped tools in the possession of these people, we noticed several that are not in Captain Parry's catalogue, such as instruments for breaking wood short off; small hand chisels, consisting of pieces of hard stone fixed in bone handles adapted to the palm of the hand; meshes for making nets; an instrument made with the claws of a seal, for cleansing skins of their fat, &c. Though I never saw the screw in use among this tribe, yet I found a worm properly cut upon the end of one of their fishing implements. The *panna*, or double-edged knife, is

also in use with these people; some of them were inlaid with brass, and undoubtedly came from the Tschutschis.

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The language of the Western Esquimaux so nearly resembles that of the tribes to the eastward, as scarcely to need any further mention, particularly after the fact of Augustus, who was a native of Hudson's Bay, being able to converse with the Esquimaux whom he met at the mouth of the Mackenzie River. It may, however, be useful to show, by means of a vocabulary compiled from the people we visited, how nearly it coincides with that given by Captain Parry; some allowances being made for the errors to which all collectors are liable, who can only make themselves understood by signs, and who collate from small parties, residing perhaps at a distance from each other, and who, though they speak the same language, may make use of a different dialect. It does not appear that this language extends much beyond Norton Sound, certainly not down to Oonalashka; for the natives of that island, who are sometimes employed by the Russians as interpreters, are of no use on the American coast, near Beering's Strait. The language, notwithstanding, has a great affinity, and may be radically the same.

It is unnecessary to pursue further the peculiarities of these people, which are so similar to those of the eastern tribes, as to leave no doubt of both people being descended from the same stock; and though the inhabitants of Melville Peninsula declared they knew of no people to the westward of Akoollee, there is much reason to believe, from the articles of Asiatic manufacture found in their possession, that there is

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an occasional communication between all the tribes on the north coast of America.

The subject of currents in Beering's strait has lost much of its interest by the removal of the doubt regarding the separation of the continents of Asia and America; and it is now of importance only to the navigator, and to the natural philosopher.

It does not appear, from our passages across the sea of Kamschatka, that any great body of water flows towards Beering's Strait. In one year the whole amount of current from Petropaulski to St. Lawrence Island was S. 54° W. thirty-one miles, and in the next N. 50° W. fifty-one miles, and from Kotzebue Sound to Oonemak N. 79° W. seventy-nine miles. Approaching Beering's Strait, the first year, with light southerly winds, it ran north sixteen miles per day; and in the next, with strong S. W. winds, north five miles; and with a strong N. E. wind, N. 34° W. twenty-three miles. Returning three different times with gales at N. W. there was no perceptible current.

By these observations it appears that near the strait with southerly and easterly winds there is a current to the northward; but with northerly and north-westerly winds there is none to the southward, and consequently that the preponderance is in favour of the former, and of the generally received opinion of all persons who have navigated these seas. I prefer this method of arriving at the set of the current to giving experiments made occasionally with boats, as they would lead to a result which would err according to the time of the tide at which they were made.

To the northward of Beering's Strait, the nature of the service we were employed upon confined us within

a few miles of the coast; there the northerly current was more apparent. We first detected it off Schismareff Inlet; it increased to between one and two miles an hour off Cape Krusenstern, and arrived at its maximum, three miles an hour, off point Hope; this was with the flood tide; the ebb ran W. S. W. half a mile an hour. Here the current was turned off to the north-west by the point, and very little was afterwards felt to the northward. The point is bold and shingly, and shows every indication of the current being prevalent and rapid.

This current, as I have before remarked, was confined nearly to the surface and within a few miles of the land; at the depth of nine feet its velocity was evidently diminished, and at three and five fathoms there was none. The upper stratum, it should be observed, was much fresher than sea water; and there is no doubt that this current was greatly accelerated, if not wholly occasioned, by rivers; but why it took a northerly course is a question I am not prepared to answer.

To the northward and eastward of Cape Lisburn we found little or no current until we arrived at Icy Cape. Off this projection it ran strong, but in opposite directions, and seemed to be influenced entirely by the winds. Near Point Barrow, with a south-westerly gale, it ran at the rate of three miles an hour and upwards to the N. E., and did not subside immediately with the wind; but the current must here have been increased by the channel between the land and the ice becoming momentarily narrowed by the pack closing the beach; and it must not be imagined that the whole body of water in the Polar Sea was going at the rapid rate above mentioned, which would be con-

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trary to our experiments in the offing. Another cause of this may be a bank lying to the westward of Icey Cape, upon one part of which the water shoals from thirty-two fathoms to nineteen, and the bottom is changed from mud to stones.

It is evident, from the above-mentioned facts, that a current prevails in a northerly direction, although we are unable to state with precision its amount, which cannot under any circumstances be great, nor, I should think, exceed a mile an hour on the average. To be able to speak positively on this subject would require a vast number of trials to be made in the same place, and at a distance from the land, out of the influence of rivers. We may however presume, that the above-mentioned direction is, that of the prevailing current throughout the year; for, upon examining the shoals off the principal headlands, we find them all to extend to the north-west, as may be seen on referring to St. Lawrence Island, Capes Prince of Wales, Krusenstern, and Lisburn, and also to Point Hope. This I conceive to be the most certain mode of deciding the question, without purposely stationing a vessel in the strait, and it is satisfactory to find that the result fully coincides with the experiments made near the shore by the Blossom and her boats.* Our observations, of course, apply to one season of the year only, as no experiments have as yet been made in the winter.

* I was in hopes that I had expressed myself clearly on this subject in the preceding edition of my work; but I find that I have been misunderstood, and even supposed in one place to have contradicted my statement in another. This apparent disagreement has arisen partly, if not wholly, from an oversight in some of my readers, who have compared observations, made at the surface of the sea at one place, with those at *five fathoms below it* at another.

The course of this current, after it passes Cape Lisburn, is somewhat doubtful; we should expect it to diverge, and one part to sweep round Icy Cape and Point Barrow; but the shoals off the former place, like the currents themselves, do not furnish any satisfactory inference. These shoals lie parallel with the shore, and may be occasioned by ice grounded off the point. It may be observed here, that voyagers have frequently mentioned westerly currents along the northern coast of Asia and Nova Zembla, and we know from experience, that, in the summer, at least, there is a strong westerly current between Spitzbergen and Greenland. In the opposite direction, we find only a weak stream passing through the narrow strait of Hecla and Fury, and none through Barrow Strait. It seems, therefore, probable, that the principal part of the water which flows into the Polar Sea, from the Pacific, finds its way to the westward.

By many experiments made on shore at Icy Cape by Lieutenant Belcher, it appeared that southerly and westerly winds occasioned high tides, and northerly and easterly winds very low ebbs. It would seem, from this fact, that the water finds some obstruction to the northward, and I think it probable that the be-

nearly 200 miles distant. If the reader will have the candour to compare the observations made at the *surface at both places*, he will find them to agree, with the exception that the current at one place ran faster than that at the other, the reason of which I have endeavoured to account for in page 313 of this volume. I should observe here, that, although I have not encumbered my narrative with a notice of every time the current was tried, such observations were made repeatedly, whenever the nature of the service I was employed upon would admit of it; but I wish it to be borne in mind, that the situation of the ship, necessarily close in shore, was highly unfavourable to the determination of the question under discussion.

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fore mentioned shoal, which closes the land toward Point Barrow, may extend to the northward; nay, it may even lie off the coast of some polar lands, too low and too far off to be seen from the margin of the ice; and which can only be ascertained by journeys over the ice, in a similar manner to that in which the mountains to the northward of Shelatskoi Noss were discovered by the Russians. It was this shoaling of the water to the northward of Cape Lisburn that induced the late Captain Burney to believe the continents of Asia and America were connected.

To the northward of Beering's Strait the tide rises about two feet six inches at full and change, and the flood comes from the southward.

The quantity of drift wood found upon the shores of Beering's Strait has occasioned various conjectures as to the source from which it proceeds; some imagining it to be brought down the rivers; others to be drifted from the southward.

We found some at almost every place where we landed, and occasionally in great quantities. There was more at Point Rodney than in any other part; a great deal upon Point Spencer; some upon Cape Espenburg, but more in Kotzebue Sound. Between Cape Krusenstern and Cape Lisburn there was very little, and in the bay to the eastward of the Cape scarcely any; but when the coast turned to the northward it became more plentiful, and it was afterwards tolerably abundant, and continued so all the way to Point Barrow. In addition to this, it should be remembered, that a great deal is used by the Esquimaux for boats, implements of all sort, houses; and fuel.

These trees are principally, if not all, either pine or birch; all that we examined were of these two species, and we lost no opportunity of making inquiry on this

subject. The wood is often tough and good; indeed some that was taken from Choris Peninsula was superior to the pine we procured at Monterey; but from this stage of preservation it may be traced to old trunks crumbling to dust. Some trees still retained their bark, and appeared to have been recently uprooted; and comparatively few showed marks of having been at sea.

Some circumstances favour an opinion, by no means uncommon, that this wood is drifted from the southward; such as its being found in large quantities on Point Rodney, the many floating trees met with at sea to the southward of Kamschatka, &c.; but the quantity of this material found by Captain Franklin and Dr. Richardson at the mouths of the rivers on the northern coast of America, and some being found by us high up Kotzebue Sound, in Port Clarence, and other places, where it is hardly possible for it to be drifted, considering the outset of fresh water, renders it more probable that it is brought down from the interior of America. Rivers quite sufficient for this purpose will be found on an inspection of the chart, but without this we need only advert to the before-mentioned rapid current of nearly fresh water to prove their existence. Did the wood come by sea from the southward, we could scarcely have failed seeing some of it in our passage from Petropaulski, and during our cruises to the northward of Beering's Strait; but scarcely any was observed between Kamschatka and St. Lawrence Island; none between that place and Beering's Strait; and only six or seven pieces of short wood to the northward, notwithstanding the coast was closely navigated in both years by the ship and the barge. Besides,

the westerly current, which is prevalent to the southward of Beering's Strait, is very much against the probability of its being drifted from the southward.

We passed the Aleutian Islands on the night of the 14th, and as in the preceding year entered a region of fine clear weather. The volcano on Oonemak was still emitting flashes, which were visible at a very considerable distance. It being my intention now to make the best of my way to England, I directed the course towards California, for the purpose of refitting the ship, and of recruiting the health of the ship's company. In this passage nothing remarkable occurred until the 20th, on which day the sun was eclipsed, when we were overtaken by a violent storm, beginning at S.E. and going round the compass in a similar manner to the typhoons in the China Sea. As the gale increased, our sails were gradually reduced, until a small storm staysail was the only canvass we could spread. The sea had the appearance of breakers, and the birds actually threw themselves into the water, apparently to escape the fury of the wind. About four in the afternoon, just before the gale was at its highest, the wind shifted suddenly eight points, and brought the ship's head to the sea, which made a clear breach over the forecastle. Anticipating a change of this nature, we fortunately wore round a few hours before it occurred, and escaped the consequences which must have attended the stern of the ship being opposed to such breakers. The barometer during this gale fell an inch in eleven hours, and rose the same quantity in five hours, standing at 28.4 when at its lowest altitude. The temperature of the air rose nine

degrees from eight in the morning to noon, and fell again to its former altitude at eight at night.

On the 24th, we were concerned to find several of the seamen afflicted with scurvy. Had this disease appeared the preceding year, in which they had been very long time upon half allowance of salt provisions, and without any vegetable diet, it would not have been extraordinary; but in this year the seamen had been on full allowance of the best kind of provision, and had been living upon fresh beef in China, turtle and fish in the Arzobispo Islands and Petroski, besides the full allowance of lemon juice, pickled cabbages, and other anti-scorbutics. The season to the northward, it is true, had been more severe than that of the preceding year, and the duty in consequence more harassing; but this is not sufficient in my opinion to occasion the difference, and I cannot but think that the indulgence in turtle, after leaving the Arzobispo Islands, which was thought so beneficial at the moment, induced a predisposition to the complaint. The disease assumed an unusual character, scarcely affecting the gums; while patients were otherwise so ill that a disposition to syncope attended the exertion of walking. Our cases fortunately were not numerous, being confined to six, and, after a few days' fresh provisions in California, were entirely cured.

On the 29th we were apprised of our approach to the coast of California by some large white pelicans, which were fishing a few miles to the westward of Point Pinos. We soon afterwards saw the land, and at eight at night moored in the Bay of Monterey. Early the following morning I waited upon the governor, and despatched messengers to the missions of

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St. Carlos and St. Cruz for vegetables, which we afterwards served daily in double the usual proportion to the ship's company, who benefited so much by the diet that, with one exception, they very soon recovered from all indisposition.

By some English newspapers, which were found in this remote part of the world, we learned the melancholy news of the death of His Royal Highness the Duke of York, and put the ship in mourning, by hoisting the flag half-mast during the time she remained in the port.

In my former visit to this country I remarked that the padres were much mortified at being desired to liberate from the missions all the Indians who bore good characters, and who were acquainted with the art of tilling the ground. In consequence of their remonstrances the governor modified the order, and consented to make the experiment upon a few only at first, and desired that a certain number might be settled in the proposed manner. After a few months' trial, much to his surprise, he found that these people who had always been accustomed to the care and discipline of schoolboys, finding themselves their own masters, indulged freely in all those excesses which it had been the endeavour of their tutors to repress, and that many having gambled away their clothes, implements and even their land, were compelled to beg or to plunder in order to support life. They at length became so obnoxious to the peaceable inhabitants, that the padres were requested to take some of them back to the missions, while others who had been guilty of misdeemeanors were loaded with shackles and put to hard work, and when we arrived were employed transporting enormous stones to the beach to improve the landing-place.

The padres, conscious that the government were now sensible of the importance of the missions, made better terms for themselves than they had been offered by the Republican government. They were allowed to retain their places, and had their former salary of four hundred dollars a year restored to them, besides a promise of payment of arrears. In return for this a pledge was exacted from the padres, binding them to conform to the existing laws of the country, and in every way to consider themselves amenable to them. Thus stood the missionary cause in California when we quitted that country.

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We remained in Monterey until the 17th, and then sailed for St. Francisco to complete our water, which at the former place, besides being so scarce that we could hardly procure sufficient for our daily consumption, was very unwholesome, being brackish and mingled with the soapsuds of all the washerwomen in the place, and with streams from the bathing places of the Indians, into which they were in the habit of plunging immediately on coming out of the Temeschal.

San Francisco had undergone no visible change since 1826, except that the presidio had suffered from the shock of an earthquake on the 22d of April, which had greatly alarmed its inhabitants.

We had here the misfortune to lose James Bailey, one of our marines, who had long been an invalid.

The third of December we left the harbour of St. Francisco, the shores of which, being newly clothed with snow, had a very wintry appearance; and on the 13th saw Cape St. Lucas. The next day we were off the Tres Marias, three high islands, situated seventy-five miles to the westward of San Blas, and well known by the frequent mention of them in the history of the

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Buccaneers, and by other early navigators in these seas. In consequence of a current setting out of the Gulf of California we were more to leeward than we were aware, and, with a view of saving time, passed through the channel between the two northernmost islands. In doing this we were becalmed several hours, and fully verified the old proverb, that the longest way round is often the shortest way home.

This channel appears to be quite safe; and in the narrowest part has from sixteen to twenty-four fathoms water; but the ground in other places is very steep, and at two miles distance from the shore to the westward there is no bottom at a hundred fathoms. When the wind is from the northward it is calm in this channel, and a current sometimes sets to the southward, which renders it advisable, on leaving the channel, to take advantage of the eddy winds which intervene between the calm and the true breeze to keep to the northward, to avoid being set down upon St. George's Island. We found these islands twenty miles further from San Blas than they were placed on the charts.

The next morning the mountains on the mainland were seen towering above the white vapour which hangs over every habitable part of the land near San Blas. The highest of these, San Juan, 6,230 feet above the sea, by trigonometrical measurement, is the best guide to the road of San Blas, as it may be seen at a great distance, and is seldom obscured by fogs, while the low lands are almost always so. In my chart of this part of Mexico I have given its exact position. When the Piedra de Mer can be seen, it is an equally certain guide. This is a rock about ten miles

west of the anchorage, a hundred and thirty feet high, with twelve fathoms water all round it.

The afternoon was well advanced before we anchored in the Road of San Blas, and the refreshing sea-breeze, sweeping the shores of the bay, had already dispersed the mist, which until then steamed from the hot swampy savannahs that for many miles surround the little isolated rock upon which the town is built. The inhabitants had not yet returned from Tepic, to which place they migrate during the *tiempo de las aguas*; the rainy season, so called from the manner in which the country is deluged with rain in the summer time.

At the time of our arrival in Mexico political affairs were very unsettled, and the property of British merchants was so much endangered, that I was compelled to accede to a request of the merchants, made through the vice-consul of San Blas, that I would delay my return to England, and remain until they could collect their funds, and that I would receive them on board for conveyance to Europe. As it would require several weeks before this specie could be got together, I proposed to visit Guaymas, and to examine the eastern coast of the Gulf of California; but this was frustrated by the revolt of Bravo, the vice-president of Mexico, and by the affairs of the state becoming so disorganized that the merchants further requested me not to quit the anchorage until they assumed a less dangerous aspect.

Shortly after our arrival we began to feel the effects of the unhealthy climate of San Blas, by several of the seamen being affected with intermittent fevers and agues, the common complaints of the place, particularly with persons who reside upon low ground, or who are

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exposed to the night air; and I regret to add that we here lost Thomas Moore, one of our most active seaman.

On the 27th of January, 1828, the agitation occasioned by the revolt had subsided, but unfortunately too late for me to proceed to Guaymas. However, as the principal part of the specie was to be shipped at Mazatlan, we put to sea a few days earlier than necessary for that purpose, that we might examine the Tres Marias and Isabella Islands, of which an account will be found in the Appendix. On the 3d February we reached Mazatlan, a very exposed anchorage, in which ships are obliged to lie so close to the shore that there would be very great difficulty in putting to sea with the wind from the W.S.W. to S.E. In the course of our survey, a rock having only eleven feet water upon it was discovered nearly in the centre of the anchorage, and occasioned no little surprise that of the many vessels which had put into the port all should have escaped being damaged upon it. Mazatlan is more healthy than San Blas, and our people here began to recover from the disorders they had contracted at that place.

February 7th.—Having embarked the specie on the 24th, we put to sea on our return to San Blas, and ran along the shore with a northerly wind which is here prevalent from November to June. Lieutenant Belcher, in the cutter, kept in shore of the ship, and filled in those parts of the coast which could not be seen by her; and we thus completed a survey of the coast from Mazatlan to several miles South of San Blas. Between these two ports the water shoals so gradually that there is no danger whatever.

In my former visit to this place I found it necessary to proceed to Tepic to meet the merchants in consul-

tation, and on that occasion I carried with me the necessary instruments for determining its position; by which it appears that it is only twenty-two miles direct from the port, though by the road it is fifty-two. It is in latitude $21^{\circ} 30' 42''$ N., and its height above the sea 2,900 feet. By a register kept there during our stay, its mean temperature was $8^{\circ}.1$ below that of San Blas, and the range $2^{\circ}.8$ greater.

Tepic is the second town in importance in Xalisco, now called Guadalajara, and contains 8000 inhabitants; but this population is augmented to about 11,000 in the unhealthy season upon the coast, at which time the people resort to Tepic. The town stands in the lowest part of a plain nearly surrounded by mountains, and not far from a large lake which exhales a malaria fatal to those who attempt to live upon its banks. On hot sunny days, of which there are many, the clouds as they pass often envelope the town, and strike a chill which proves fatal to hundreds of persons in the course of the year; and immediately the sun has set behind the mountains a cold deposit takes place, which is so great that it soon wets a person through. Under these circumstances Tepic is itself scarcely more healthy than the sea coast, and by the records of the Church it appears that the deaths exceed the births.

About a league and a half from Tepic, at the foot of Mount San Juan, stands Xalisco, near the site of the ancient town of that name. This town, though so close to Tepic, is very salubrious. I had the curiosity to examine the parish books here, in order to compare them with those at Tepic, and found the births to exceed the deaths in the proportion eighty-four to nineteen. In a population of only 3000, there were

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several persons upwards of a hundred years of age, while in Tepic there are very few above seventy-two. The Spaniards are fully aware of this difference of climate, and often send invalids from Tepic to Xalisco to recover their health; yet they continue to reside, and even to build new houses in the unhealthy spot their ancestors have chosen.

I had the good fortune to procure at this place, through the kindness of a gentleman who was residing at Tepic, a curious hive, constructed by bees, which had never been described, and of which an account will be found in the Appendix by Mr. Edward Bennet, to whom I am also indebted for his remarks upon the fishes we collected, which will appear in the natural history of the voyage.

The 1st of March was the day appointed for the embarkation of the specie at San Blas; but it was the 6th before it arrived, and the 8th before we could put to sea. On my way to the southward it became necessary to call at Acapulco for the purpose of securing the bowsprit previous to the passage round Cape Horn, as this could not be done conveniently in the open road of San Blas. While we were at anchor we received very distressing accounts of the state of affairs at Acapulco, and several vessels arrived from that place with passengers, who had been obliged to seek their safety by flight. It appeared that shortly after the revolt of Bravo, the Spaniards, with certain exceptions, were expelled from the Mexican territory; and that Montesdeoca, a republican general, who was deeply indebted to some Spaniards at Acapulco, took advantage of this proclamation to liquidate his debt by marching against the town with a lawless troop of half-cast Mexicans, and by obliging the Spaniards to

take refuge on board the vessels in the harbour, or to secrete themselves in the woods.

On putting to sea from San Blas, we kept along the land; the next day we determined the position of Cape Corrientes, a remarkable promontory on this coast, and on the 10th were within sight of the volcano of Colima. This mountain, by our measurement from a base of forty-eight miles, is 12,003 feet above the sea; and is situated in latitude $19^{\circ} 25' 24''$ N. and longitude $1^{\circ} 41' 42''$ E. of the arsenal at San Blas. On the 11th, in latitude $17^{\circ} 16'$ N., our temperature underwent a sensible change; previous to this date the thermometer had ranged between 71° and 73° , but on this day it rose to 82° , and did not fall again below 80° until after we quitted Acapulco. I notice the circumstance in consequence of Captain Hall having experienced precisely the same change in the same situation.*

Early in the morning of the 12th March we came within view of the Tetas de Coyuca, two peaked hills, which are considered by seamen the best guide to the port of Acapulco, and the next morning came to anchor in the most perfect harbour of its size that can be imagined.

The town of Acapulco was now tranquil, two Spaniards only being left in the place, and Montesdeoca having retired to Tulancinga, and disbanded his troops by order of the congress. The government of Acapulco was administered by Don Jose Manuella, a tool of Montesdeoca, who received me in his shirt, seated upon a Guyaquil hammock, in which he was swinging from side to side of the apartment.

Having effected our purpose in putting into the

* Hall's South America, p. 182.

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port, and taken on board a supply of turkeys and fruit, which are finer here than in any other part of the world with which I am acquainted, we put to sea on the 18th. On the 29th March we crossed the equator in $99^{\circ} 40' W.$, and arrived at Valparaiso on the 29th of April, where we had the gratification to find, that his Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral had been pleased to mark his approbation of our proceedings on our voyage to the northward in 1826, by honouring the Blossom with the first commissions for promotion which had been issued under his Royal Highness's auspices. Here also I found orders awaiting my arrival to convey to Europe the remittances of specie, part of which arrived on the 19th May, and on the 20th we proceeded to Coquimbo to take on board the remainder.

On the 23d, when seven leagues S.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. of this port, we were surprised by the shock of an earthquake, which shook the ship so forcibly, that some of the seamen imagined the anchor had been let go by accident, and was dragging the chain-cable with it to the bottom; while others supposed the ship had struck upon a shoal. An hour afterwards we felt a second shock, but much lighter. On our arrival in Coquimbo we found that these shocks had been felt by the inhabitants, and that there had been one the preceding night, which made the churches totter until the bells rang. Several slight shocks were afterwards felt by the inhabitants, who are very sensible to these subterraneous convulsions.

We remained several days in this port, which enjoys one of the most delightful climates imaginable, where gales of wind are scarcely ever felt, and in which rain is a very rare occurrence. Situated between the

ports of Valparaiso and of Callao, where the dews alone irrigate the ground, it seems to partake of the advantages of the climates of each, without the inconveniences of the rainy season of the one, or of the heat and enervating qualities of the other.

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On the 3d June all the specie was embarked, and we put to sea on our way to Brazil; passed the meridian of Cape Horn on the 30th, in very thick snow-showers, and after much bad weather arrived at Rio Janeiro on the 21st July. Here we received on board the Right Hon. Robert Gordon, ambassador to the court of Brazil, and after a passage of forty-nine days arrived at Spithead, and on the 12th October paid the ship off at Woolwich.

In this voyage, which occupied three years and a half, we sailed seventy-three thousand miles, and experienced every vicissitude of climate. It cannot be supposed that a service of such duration, and of such an arduous nature, has been performed without the loss of lives, particularly as our ship's company was, from the commencement, far from robust; and I have to lament the loss of eight by sickness, of four by shipwreck, of one missing, of one drowned in a lake, and of one by falling overboard in a gale of wind; in all fifteen persons. To individuals nothing probably can compensate for the selosses; but to the community, considering the uncertainty of life under the most ordinary circumstances, the mortality which has attended the present undertaking will, I hope, be considered compensated by the services which have been performed by the expedition.

In closing this narrative I feel it my duty to the

officers employed under my command, particularly to those whose immediate assistance I have acknowledged in my introduction, briefly to enumerate these services, as they are of such a nature that they cannot appear in a narrative, and as my professional habits have unqualified me for executing, with justice to them, or with satisfaction to myself, the task of authorship which has devolved upon me as commander of the expedition, and which I should not have undertaken had I not felt confident that the candid public would look more to what has been actually done, than to the mode in which the proceedings have been detailed. In the Appendix to the quarto edition I have collected as much information as the nature of the work would admit. Besides the interesting matter which it will be found to contain, the expedition has surveyed almost every place it touched at, and executed plans of fourteen harbours, of which two are new; of upwards of forty islands, of which six are discoveries; and of at least six hundred miles of coast, one-fifth of which has not before been delineated. There have also been executed drawings and views of headlands, too numerous to appear in one work; and I hope shortly to be able to lay before the public two volumes of natural history.

In taking my leave, it is with the greatest pleasure I reflect that the Board of Admiralty again marked the sense they entertained of our exertions, by a further liberal promotion at the close of the expedition.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

On the occurrence of the remains of Elephants, and other Quadrupeds, in the cliffs of frozen mud, in Eschscholtz Bay, within Beering's Strait, and in other distant parts of the shores of the Arctic seas.

BY THE REV. WM. BUCKLAND, D.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S., AND PROFESSOR OF GEOLOGY AND MINERALOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

HAVING been requested, at the time of Captain Beechey's return to England in October, 1828, to examine the collection of animal remains which he brought home from the shores of Eschscholtz Bay, and to prepare a description of them for the present publication, I attended at the Admiralty to assist at the opening and distribution of these specimens. The most perfect series, including all the specimens engraved in plates 1, 2, 3, (fossils), was selected for the British Museum; another series, including some of the largest tusks of elephants, was sent to the Museum of the College at Edinburgh, and other tusks to the Museum of the Geological Society of London. To the plates of these fossils, I have added a map of the bay in which they were collected, on the same spot where similar remains were first discovered by Lieutenant Kotzebue and Dr. Eschscholtz, on the 8th of August, 1816. Captain Beechey, in the course of his Narrative (p. 352 and 444, Vol. I.), has given a general description of the circumstances attending the examination of the locality in which the existence of these bones had been indicated by Lieutenant Kotzebue, and before I proceed to offer any observations of my own on these remarkable organic remains, or on the

causes that may have collected them in such abundance on the spots where they are now found, I shall extract a further and more detailed account of the place and circumstances in which they were discovered, from the journal of Mr. Collie (surgeon to the English Expedition), by whom the bones were principally collected, and the chief observations and experiments made, on which Captain Beechey has founded his opinion, in which his officers, Lieutenant Belcher and Mr. Collie, entirely coincide with him, that the cliffs containing bones, which have been described by Kotzebue and Eschscholtz as icebergs covered with moss and grass, are not composed of pure ice, but are merely one of the ordinary deposits of mud and gravel, that occur on many parts of the shores of the Polar Sea, being identical in age and character with diluvial deposits of the same kind which are known to be dispersed over the whole of Europe, and over a large part of Northern Asia and North America; and presenting no other peculiarities in the frozen regions of the North, than that which results from the present temperature of these regions, causing the water which percolates this mud and gravel to be congealed into ice.

The question of fact, whether the cliffs containing these bones of elephants, and other land quadrupeds, are composed of "masses of the purest ice, a hundred feet high, and covered on their surface with vegetation," as stated in the voyage of Lieutenant Kotzebue, (p. 219, English translation), or are simply composed, as Captain Beechey thinks them to be, of ordinary diluvium, having its interstices filled up with frozen water, is important, as it affects materially the consideration of the further question, as to what was the state of the climate of the arctic regions at the time when they were thickly inhabited by genera of the largest quadrupeds, such as at present exist only in our warmest latitudes; this being a point of much interest and curiosity, in relation to the history of the physical revolutions that have affected our planet, and on which there still exists a difference of opinion among those individuals who have paid the greatest attention to the subject.

Before I proceed to Mr. Collie's observations on the spot in which they were found, I shall extract from his journal a list of the total number of animal remains collected during the short time he was with Captain Beechey in Eschscholtz Bay; and add my own list and description of the most perfect of these specimens, which I have selected to be engraved.

List, showing the total number of animal remains collected in Eschscholtz Bay, taken from the Journal of Mr. Collie.

ELEPHANT.

1 Lower jaw, nearly complete.

7 Molar teeth.

9 Tusks. Five of them large, and weighing from one hundred to one hundred and sixty pounds each. Four small; one of these was found in the debris of the cliff half way up; the circumference of the largest tusk at its root is twenty inches, and at three feet above the root twenty-one inches and a half: another tusk, in which part of the tip is wanting, measures nine feet two inches along the curve from the root to the tip, and five feet two inches across the chord of its curve.

4 Fragments of tusks.

3 Dorsal vertebræ, five inches and a half in diameter.

1 Atlas.

1 Os innominatum, nearly perfect.

1 Ilium, imperfect.

1 Os pubis, imperfect.

4 Fragments of scapulæ, one of them tolerably complete.

1 Portion of humerus.

5 Femora, one of them almost complete.

4 Fragments of femora.

2 Tibiæ, one of them nearly complete.

1 Tarsal bone.

1 Os calcis, entire, taken out of the cliff.

1 Cuboides, nearly entire.

1 Cuneiform.

1 Phalangeal bone.

URUS.

- 1 Skull, incomplete.
- 8 Fragments of horns.
- 1 Femur.
- 3 Tibiæ.
- 1 Dorsal vertebra.
- 1 Sacrum.

MUSK-OX.

- 1 Skull, with horns attached, incomplete and very modern.

DEER.

- 1 Fragment of antler.
- 4 Tibiæ, entire.
- 3 Metatarsal bones.
- 1 Os calcis.

Some of these are probably casual and modern, and derived from rein-deer that now frequent this part of America.

HORSE.

- 1 Astragalus.
- 1 Metacarpus.
- 1 Metatarsus.

Description of the most perfect specimens of animal remains brought home by Captain Beechey from Eschscholtz Bay, and selected by Dr. Buckland to be engraved in pl. 1, 2, 3, (fossils). All these specimens are deposited in the British Museum.

PLATE I.—(Fossils.)

Fig. 1. Lower jaw of extinct elephant, containing two molar teeth.

- 2. Profile of No. 1, on the left side.
- 3. Molar tooth of elephant.

If we compare this jaw and the teeth with the fossil jaws and teeth described by Cuvier, we shall find them to exhibit all the leading characters pointed out by that great naturalist, as distinguishing the fossil elephant from any existing species.

First. The teeth possess that broadness of surface which is more constant in the fossil teeth than

either the greater number or greater thinness of the component laminae.

Secondly. The position of the teeth in the jaw is at a less acute angle, and more nearly parallel than in the recent species.

Thirdly. The channel within the chin at the junction of the two sides of the jaw is broader in proportion to its length; the exterior projecting point of the chin, also at the apex of the jaw, is not so prominent as in recent elephants, but truncated as in the fossil species. Compare this jaw with those of fossil elephants engraved in Cuvier's *Ossemens Fossiles*, vol I. pl. II. fig. 1, 4, 5. Pl. V. fig. 4, 5. Pl. VIII. fig. 1. Pl. IX. fig. 8, 10. Pl. XI. fig. 2.

4. An ivory scoop, purchased by Captain Beechey from the Esquimaux, and made of a portion of a very large fossil tusk; it shows at the extremities of the excavated part at A and B a point that indicates the axis of the tusk; this ivory is firm and solid, and in nearly the same high state of preservation as the entire tusks from Eschscholtz Bay.

PLATE II.—(Fossils.)

- fig. 1. Entire tusk of an elephant, measuring ten feet in the curve and six inches in diameter at the largest part, and weighing one hundred and sixty pounds.
2. Another tusk of an elephant, nine feet six inches in the curve.

Both these tusks are nearly perfect; two other tusks of nearly the same size have marks of having been chopped with some cutting instrument; this has probably been done by the Esquimaux to ascertain their solidity and fitness for making their utensils: the large scoop made of fossil ivory—see Plate I. (Fossils) fig. 4—shows that these people apply the fossil tusks to such purposes. The tusks which are thus chopped appear to have been left on the shore as unfit for use, on account of the shattered condition of their interior.

3, 4. Longitudinal view of the tusks represented laterally in figs. 1, 2. They both possess the same double curvature as the tusks of the great fossil elephant in the Museum at Petersburg from the icy cliff at the mouth of the Lena, in Siberia.

This curvature is very frequent but not constant in fossil tusks; it occurs also sometimes in the tusks of recent elephants: there is a similar double curvature in the recent tusk of a small elephant from Ceylon in the possession of the Earl of Carnarvon, at Highclere, Hants.

Fig. 5. Femur of elephant.

6. Epiphysis from the lower extremity of another femur of elephant.
7. Tibia of elephant.
8. Scapula of elephant.
9. Os innominatum of elephant.
10. Os calcis of elephant.

PLATE III.—(Fossils.)

- Fig. 1. Head of a boss urus, in precisely the same condition with the fossil bones of elephants, and very different from the state of the head of a musk-ox with the external case of the horns still attached to it, which was brought home with the fossil bones, and was found with them on the beach at the bottom of the mud cliff in Eschscholtz Bay, but is so slightly decayed that it seems to have been derived from a carcass that has not long since been stranded by the waves. This head of a musk-ox is not engraved, as it cannot be considered fossil.
2. External horny case detached from the bony core of the horn of an ox: it is in a state equally fresh with the head of the musk-ox just mentioned; and, like it, appears to be derived from an animal recently cast on shore.
 3. Femur of an ox.
 4. Tibia of an ox.
 5. Metatarsus of an ox.

6. Humerus of an ox.
7. Metacarpus of an ox.
8. Dorsal vertebra of an ox.
9. Dorsal vertebra of an ox.
10. Os calcis of an ox.
11. Base of the horn of a deer, similar to horns that occur in the diluvium of England, and somewhat resembling the horn of a rein-deer.
12. Tibia of a large deer.
13. Radius of a large deer.
14. Astragalus of a horse.
15. Metacarpus of a horse.
16. Metatarsus of a horse.
17. Cervical vertebra of an unknown animal. It has been compared with all the skeletons in the collection at Paris, by Mr. Pentland, without finding any to which it can be referred: he thinks the nature of the articulation more resembles that in the sloth and ant-eaters than in any other animal; but the bone differs from them in other respects, and approaches to the character of the Pachydermata. The animal, whatever it was, seems to have differed essentially from any that now inhabit the Polar Regions of the Northern Hemisphere.

NOTES EXTRACTED FROM THE JOURNAL OF MR. COLLIE.

"The attention of the world has been called to the remarkable cliff in which fossil bones were found by Dr. Eschscholtz in August, 1816. On my first visit to it in the month of July, 1826, time did not permit me to do more than take a view of the most eastern part, and examine the nature of the icy fronting which it presented. At that time I saw no traces of fossils; this cliff faces to the N., and extends in nearly a right line, with few interruptions, for two miles and a half, and is in general about ninety feet high. It is composed of clay and very fine quartz and micaceous sand, assuming a grayish appearance when dry. The land behind rises gradually to an additional height of one hundred feet, and is covered with a

black boggy soil nourishing a brown and grey lichen, moss, several species of ericæ, graminæ and other herbaceous plants, and is intersected with a few valleys containing small streams, and having their more protected declivities adorned with shrubs of willow and dwarf betula (*betula incana*).

A continual waste of the cliff is produced at the upper part by its falling down in considerable lumps to the bottom, where the debris remains for a longer or shorter time, and covers the front to a greater or less height; in some places, almost to the very top. Large masses are sometimes seen rent off and standing out from the body of the cliff ready to have their last slight hold washed away by the next shower, or by a little more thawing and separation of the frozen earth that serves them for attachment. The lumps of soil that fall are still covered with the herbaceous and shrubby verdure that grew upon them. The perpendicular front of the cliff of frozen mud and sand is every summer gradually decreasing by the melting of the ice between its particles into water, which trickles down and carries with it loose particles of earth. In some portions of the cliff the earthy surface is protected with ice, partly the effect of snow driven into the hollows and fissures, and partly from the congelation of water, which may have collected in chinks or cavities: these masses of ice dissolve in summer, and the water running from them carries with it any earth that lies in its way, and mixes itself with, and moves forward, the mass of debris below. By this gradual thawing and falling of the cliff, the black boggy soil at the surface becomes undermined, and assumes the projecting and overhanging appearance which is so remarkable. At the base of the greater part of the cliff the debris is washed by the sea at full tide, and being gradually carried away by the retiring waters, is spread out into an extensive shoal along the coast. It was in this shoal, where it is left dry by the ebbing tide, to the distance of fifty or a hundred yards from the cliff, that the greater number of the fossil bones and teeth were discovered, many of them so concealed as only to leave a small end or knob sticking up; they were dispersed very irregularly. Remains of the musk-oak were found on this shoal, along with those of elephants.

The few specimens taken out of the cliff, or more properly from the debris, on the front of it (for none, I believe, were taken out of the very cliff), were in a better state of preservation than those which had been alternately covered and left exposed by the flux and reflux of the tide, or imbedded in the mud and clay of the shoal.

A very strong odour, like that of heated bones, was exhaled wherever the fossils abounded. Quantities of rolled stones, mostly of a brownish sandstone, lay upon the shoal, left dry by the receding sea. With these were also porphyritic pebbles.

Parts of some of the tusks, where they had been imbedded in the clay and sand, were coloured blue by phosphate of iron, and many of the teeth were stained in the same manner. The circular layers of the tusks in the more decayed specimens were distinctly separated by a thin vein of fibrous gypsum.

In those parts of the bay where there are no cliffs, the waves are kept at a distance from the land by a gravelly beach, which they have thrown up for a considerable extent round the entrance of the streams which come down the valleys. These beaches have formed rounded flats containing marshes or lakes: not unfrequently rather a luxuriant herbage covers their surface. The land behind them rises by a gentle slope. Great part of the shore of Kotzebue Sound is made up of a diluvial formation, similar to that on the south shore of Eschscholtz Bay. From Hut Peak to Hotham Inlet it exhibits many cliffs similar to those just described, and also others with an uniform and steep slope, partly covered with verdure, and partly exposing the dry sand and clay which compose them. The most elevated cliffs form the projecting head-land of Cape Blossom, and abound in ice, notwithstanding their southern aspect, particularly at Mosquito station and Cape Blossom. In their neighbourhood I observed the natives had recently formed coarse ivory spoons from the external layer of a fossil elephant's tusk. The ice here in the end of September showed itself more abundantly than it did in the middle of the same month on the cliffs of Escholtz Bay which have a northern aspect."

Mr. Collie then proceeds to explain still further his ideas of

the manner in which masses and sheets of pure ice may have been collected in hollows and fissures on and near the front of the cliff in Eschscholtz Bay.

1st. By the accumulation of snow drifted into hollows subjacent to the overhanging stratum of black boggy soil that forms the brink of the cliff, and subsequently converted into ice by successive thawing and freezing in spring and summer.

2dly. They may have been formed from water collected in deep fissures and cavities that intersect the falling cliff near its margin. The inclined position of the land immediately above this margin of peat, and the annual undermining which is produced by the thawing of the frozen mud beneath it, produce occasional land slips, and movements of the edge of the cliff towards the sea; these cause cracks and fissures of the soil in various directions, but chiefly parallel to the external face of the cliff. When these fissures descend through the black boggy soil of the surface into the frozen mud below, they become receptacles for the formation of ice, since the water that oozes into them is congealed upon their sides until it entirely fills them with a wall or dyke of solid ice. The fall of a mass of mud from the outer side of one of these walls would expose this ice, forming a case over the inner side of the fissure in which it was accumulated.

3dly. The manner in which an extensive facing of pure ice may be formed on these cliffs, by water during the summer trickling down their frozen surface from the soil above, and becoming converted to ice in the course of its descent, has been described by Captain Beechey (pages 353 and 454, Vol. I.)

Lieutenant Belcher, in his notes, proposes another theory to explain the occurrence of masses of pure ice immediately below the margin of peat on the top of the cliff on the southern shore of Eschscholtz Bay. He conceives that between the superficial bed of spongy peat, and the mass of frozen mud which forms the body and substance of this cliff, the water oozing downwards through the peat, during the thaw of each successive summer, is stopped at the point where it comes into contact with the perpetually frozen earth below, and there accumulates into a thick horizontal sheet of pure transparent

ce, and that it is the broken edge of this icy stratum which becomes exposed in the margin of the cliff during the process of slow and gradual destruction which it is continually undergoing.

This opinion, however, is I believe peculiar to Lieutenant Belcher. The experiment made by Mr. Collie, in boring horizontally into the cliff through a vertical face of ice, until he penetrated the frozen mud behind it, shows, that in this case the ice was merely a superficial facing of frozen water, consolidated as it descended the front of the cliff; and his further experiments in digging vertically downwards, in two places, through the peat into frozen mud, and finding no traces of any intermediate bed of ice, appear unfavourable to any hypothesis as to the formation of a stratum of pure ice between the superficial peat and subjacent mud.

It has just been stated that Captain Beechey and Mr. Collie propose three different solutions to explain the origin of these hanging masses of ice near the upper margin of the vertical cliffs: 1st, That they may have been formed from snow drifted into hollows of the cliffs, and subsequently converted into ice; 2dly, From water consolidated into ice within fissures and cavities, caused by the subsidence and falling forwards of the frozen mud; 3dly, From water trickling down the external surface of the cliff, and freezing as it descended. To these the theory of Lieutenant Belcher would add a fourth process, by which a horizontal bed of ice is formed between a superficial bed of peat and the subjacent mud. These hanging masses of ice, whatever may be their origin, appear to have been so abundant at the time of the Russian expedition to this coast, as to have made Kotzebue and Eschscholtz imagine the entire cliff behind them to be an iceberg; an opinion which all the English officers agree in considering to be erroneous, since the view and descriptions of the cliff on the south shore of Escholtz Bay, given at p. 219 of the English translation of Kotzebue's *Voyage*, do not correspond with the state of this coast when it was subsequently visited by the crew of the Blossom.

The following are Captain Kotzebue's observations respect-

ing it: * “ We had climbed much about, without discovering that we were on real icebergs. Dr. Eschscholtz found part of the bank broken down, and saw, to his astonishment, that the interior of the mountain consisted of pure ice. At this news we all went, provided with shovels and crows, to examine these phenomena more closely, and soon arrived at a place where the bank rises almost perpendicularly out of the sea to the height of a hundred feet, and then runs off, rising still higher: we saw masses of the purest ice, of the height of a hundred feet, which are under a cover of moss and grass, and could not have been produced but by some terrible revolution. The place, which by some accident had fallen in, and is now exposed to the sun and air, melts away, and a good deal of water flows into the sea. An indisputable proof that what we saw was real ice is the quantity of mammoth's teeth and bones which were exposed to view by the melting, and among which I myself found a very fine tooth. We could not assign any reason for a strong smell, like that of burnt horn, which we perceived in this place. The covering of these mountains, on which the most luxuriant grass grows to a certain height, is only half a foot thick, and consists of a mixture of clay, sand, and earth; below which the ice gradually melts away, the green cover sinks with it, and continues to grow.”

Mr. Collie's experiments, which I have before alluded to, in digging both horizontally and vertically through the ice and peat into frozen mud, show that, at the points where they were made, the cliff formed no part of any iceberg. Still more decisive is the important fact, that on the two occasions when it was visited by the English expedition, the patches of ice upon the cliff in question were very few in number, and variable from one year to another; that the “ masses of the purest ice of the height of a hundred feet,” which were seen by the Russian officers, had entirely vanished; and that nearly the whole front of the cliff, from the sea at its base to the peat that grew on its summit, presented a continuous mass of indurated mud and sand, or of under-cliffs formed by the subsidence of these materials.

* Kotzebue's Voyage of Discovery, Vol. I. p. 220.

It seems quite certain therefore that there must have been a material change in the quantity of ice on the cliff in Eschscholtz Bay in the interval between the visits of Lieutenant Kotzebue and Captain Beechey; and if we suppose that, during this interval, there was an extensive thawing of the icy front that was seen by Kotzebue, but which existed not at the time of Beechey's visit, we find in this hypothesis a solution of the discrepancy between these officers; since what to the first would appear a solid iceberg, when it was glazed over with a case of ice, would, after the melting of that ice, exhibit to the latter a continuous cliff of frozen diluvial mud. Whilst the ice prevailed all over the front of the cliff, any bones that had fallen from it before the formation of this ice, and which lay on the under cliffs or upon the shore, must, by an error almost inevitable, have been presumed to fall from the imaginary iceberg.

This circumstance seems to suggest to us that it is worthy of consideration whether or not there may have existed any similar cause of error in the case of the celebrated carcass of an elephant in Siberia, which is said to have fallen entire from an iceberg in the cliffs near the Lena. The Tungusian, who discovered this carcass suspended in what he called an iceberg, may possibly have made no very accurate distinction between a pure iceberg and a cliff of frozen mud.

It is stated by Lieutenant Belcher, that at a spot he visited on the S. E. shore of Eschscholtz Bay, on ascending what appeared at first to be a solid hillock, he found a heap of loose materials, unsafe to walk on, and having streams of liquid mud oozing from it on all sides through coarse grass; that as the melting subsoil of this hillock sinks gradually down, the incumbent peat subsides with it; so that at no very distant period the entire hillock will disappear. In other mud cliffs, also, he observed similar streams of liquid mud, accompanied by a depression of the surface immediately above them. Thus, from the month of June to October these cliffs are constantly thawing, and throwing down small avalanches of mud, which, between Cape Blossom and Cape Kruzenstern, are so numerous, that you can scarce stand there an hour without witnessing the

downfall of some portion of the thawing cliffs. Hence originates a succession of ravines and gullies, which do not run far inland, and afford no sections, being covered with the debris of the superficial peat that falls into them. Small streams of muddy water, of the consistence of cream, ooze from the sides of these ravines, the water being supplied by the melting of the particles of ice which pervade the substance of the frozen mud and peat.

There remain, then, three important points, on which all the English officers concur in the same opinion: 1st, That the bones and tusks of elephants at Eschscholtz Bay are not derived from the superficial peat; 2dly, That they are not derived from any masses of pure ice; 3dly, That, although collected chiefly on the shore at the base of the falling cliff, they are derived only from the mud and sand of which this cliff is composed.

The occurrence of cliffs composed of diluvial mud is by no means peculiar to the south shore of Eschscholtz Bay. It will be seen by reference to the map (plate I. Geology), that they are more extensive, but at a less elevation along the north shore of this same bay, and also on the south-west of it, at Shallow Inlet, in Spafarief Bay. Indeed, in following the line of coast north-eastwards, from the Arctic Circle, near Beering's Strait, to lat. 71° N., wherever the coast is low, there is a long succession of cliffs of mud, in the following order: 1. Schischmareff Inlet. 2. Bay of Good Hope, on the south of Kotzebue's Sound. 3. Spafarief Bay, at the south-east extremity of Kotzebue's Sound. 4. Elephant Point, in Eschscholtz Bay. 5. At the mouth of the Buckland River, at the head of Eschscholtz Bay. 6. The north coast of Eschscholtz Bay. 7. Cape Blossom. 8. Point Hope. 9. From Cape Beaufort to twenty miles east of Icy Cape. 10. Lunar Station, near lat. 71° .—At the base of the mud cliff, fifteen feet high, in the Bay of Good Hope, a small piece of a tusk of an elephant was found upon the shore. At Shallow Inlet, the mud cliff was fifteen feet high, without any facings of ice, or appearance of bones; yet there was the same smell at low water as in the cliffs near Elephant Point, that abound so

much in bones. At Icy Cape the cliffs of mud behind the islands were about twenty feet high, but were not examined. Patches of pure ice were observed hanging on the mud cliffs in many places along this coast, but only where there was peat at the top; hence it may be inferred, that the ice, in such cases, is formed by water oozing from the peat. At High Cape, near Hotham Inlet, is a cliff of mud, a hundred feet high, covered at the top with peat, and having patches of ice upon its surface; but no bones were found here. In those parts of the coast where the cliffs are rocky there were no facings of ice.

Having thus far stated the evidence we possess respecting the facts connected with the discovery of these bones in Eschscholtz Bay, I will proceed to offer a few remarks in illustration and explanation of them, and to consider how far they tend to throw light on the curious and perplexing question, as to what was the climate of this portion of the world at the time when it was inhabited by animals now so foreign to it as the elephant and rhinoceros, and as to the manner in which, not only their teeth and tusks and dislocated portions of their skeletons, but, in some remarkable instances, the entire carcasses of these beasts, with their flesh and skin still perfect, became entombed in ice, or in frozen mud and gravel, over such extensive and distant regions of the northern hemisphere.

The bones from Eschscholtz Bay, like most of those we find in diluvial deposits, are no way mineralized: they are much altered in colour, being almost black, and are to a certain degree decomposed and weakened; yet they retain so much animal matter, that not only a strong odour like that of burnt horn is emitted from them on the application of heated iron, but a musty and slightly ammoniacal smell is perceptible on gently rubbing their surface.

It must not, however, be inferred that this high state of preservation can exist only in bones that have been imbedded in frozen mud or frozen gravel, since dense clay impermeable to water has been equally effective in preserving the remains of the same extinct species of animals in the milder climate of England. There are, in the Oxford Museum, bones of the

phant and rhinoceros, from diluvial clay in Warwickshire and Norfolk, that are scarcely at all more decomposed than those brought by Captain Beechey from Eschscholtz Bay, and are nearly of the same colour and consistence with them. I have also a fragment of the tusk of an elephant from the coast of Yorkshire, near Bridlington, of which great part had been made into boxes by a turner of ivory before the remainder came into my possession; and on comparing the state of the residuary portion of this tusk from Yorkshire with that of the scoop made of a fossil tusk by the Esquimaux in Eschscholtz Bay, I find the difference scarcely appreciable.

It is mentioned, both by the Russian and English officers, that a strong odour like that of burnt bones is emitted from the mud of the cliffs in which they discovered these animal remains in Eschscholtz Bay: other observers have stated the same thing of the mud cliffs in Siberia, near the mouth of the Lena, which contain similar organic remains. But it is also stated by Mr. Collie that a like odour was perceived at the base of another mud cliff in Shallow Inlet, near Eschscholtz Bay, where there were no bones; and as in this latter case we must attribute it to some cause unconnected with the bones, and probably to gaseous exhalations from the mud itself, we may, I think, draw the same inference as to the origin of the odour in all the other cases also; thus in Eschscholtz Bay, where nearly all the bones were collected at the base of the cliff on the beach below high water, how can the presence of two or three bones only, lying half way up the cliff, account for the odour which is emitted over a distance of more than a mile along this shore? How inadequate is a cause so partial to so general an effect! since, however numerous may be the animal remains that are buried in the interior of the cliff, no exhalations from them can escape through their impenetrable matrix of frozen mud; and even if that fallen portion of mud which constitutes the under-cliff be ever so abundantly loaded with fossil bones, it is scarcely possible that these should undergo such rapid decomposition as to transmit strong exhalations to the surface through so dense a substance as saturated clay; in fact, their high degree of preservation shows that no such rapid decomposition has taken place.

With respect to the matrix of frozen mud, from which these remains are said to be derived, it appears, from specimens of it adhering to the bones, that it consists of micaceous sand and quartzose sand, intermixed with fine blue clay. In the hollow of one of the tusks I found a quantity of this compound, and some fragments of mica slate. All these ingredients may have been derived from the detritus of primitive micaceous slates, such as constitute a large part of the fundamental rocks of the neighbourhood of Eschscholtz Bay:

Pebbles of porphyry also are said to occur in the cliff, and also on the beach below it, mixed, in the latter case, with pebbles of basalt and sandstone, and a few large blocks of basalt. No rock was noticed in this district from which these rolled stones could have been derived; some of those upon the beach may possibly have been drifted thither on floating icebergs. The tranquil state and retired position of the bay render it improbable that these pebbles have been brought to their present place by the influence of any existing submarine currents.

It is important to clear from confusion two facts mentioned by Captain Beechey, viz. the occurrence of remains of the rein-deer, and of the musk-ox, along with bones of the elephant in Eschscholtz Bay. Had the bones of either of these arctic animals been found unequivocally mixed with the bones of elephants in any undisturbed part of the high cliff, it would have followed that the rein-deer and the musk-ox must have been coeval with the fossil elephant; and this fact would have been nearly decisive of the question as to the climate of this region at the time when it was inhabited by these three species of animals. But as all the fossil remains collected in Eschscholtz Bay, with the exception of a very few bones and the tusk of an elephant that lay high up in the under cliff, were collected on the beach between high and low water mark, nothing is more probable than that the bones of modern animals should become mixed with these fossils after they had fallen upon the beach in the recesses of a quiet bay.

Kotzebue (vol. I. p. 218) says he saw many horns of rein-deer lying on the shore in Eschscholtz Bay; and conjectures that the Americans, who frequent these coasts occasionally in

the hunting season, may have brought with them the rein-deer from which these horns had been derived. This hypothesis may explain the presence of such horns in a spot which no wild rein-deer are known to frequent at present; but as Kotzebue (p. 219) mentions also the abundance of drift-wood upon the shores of this bay, it is probable that the same currents which brought the wood may have also brought the carcasses of rein-deer, and have stranded them on the shores where their horns were found.

The agency of the same currents, to which I have referred the drifting of the carcasses of rein-deer into Eschscholtz Bay, will also equally explain the presence of recent bones of the musk-ox in this bay; on the same shoal, with the bones of elephants that had fallen from the cliff. I have already stated that the condition of the skull and horns of a musk-ox, which were brought home with the fossil bones, is so very recent, and differs so essentially from the condition of all the bones of elephants from this place, that it is impossible it can have been buried in the same matrix with them; for, in such case, all would have been nearly in the same state, either of preservation or decay.

It is stated by Cuvier (*Ossemens Fossiles*, second edition, vol. iv. p. 165), that a similar doubt is attached to the heads of musk-oxen described by Pallas and Ozeretzkovsky, as found near the mouth of the Ob, and at the embouchure of the Yana, and that there is yet no sufficient proof of the existence of any fossil species of musk-ox that may be considered of the same age with the fossil elephant, or which can be brought in evidence as to the question of the climate of the polar regions when these elephants were living. Of the very few remains of musk-oxen which have yet been found, it does not appear that any have been buried at a great depth.

There is nothing peculiar to Eschscholtz Bay in the occurrence of bones of horses with those of elephants: from the number of localities in which their teeth and bones have been found together, in diluvial deposits, it appears that more than one species of horse was co-extensive with the fossil elephant in its occupation of the ancient surface of the earth. Wild

horses are at present almost unknown, except in warm or temperate latitudes.

We may now consider how far the facts we have collected respecting the bones in Eschscholtz Bay are in accordance with similar occurrences, either in the adjoining regions of the north, or in other still more distant parts of the earth, and in different latitudes.

It is stated by Pallas, in the 17th volume of the *New Commentaries of the Academy of Petersburg*, 1772, that throughout the whole of northern Asia, from the Don to the extreme point nearest America, there is scarce any great river in whose banks they do not find the bones of elephants and other large animals, which cannot now endure the climate of this district, and that all the fossil ivory which is collected for sale throughout Siberia is extracted from the lofty, precipitous, and sandy banks of the rivers of that country; that in every climate and latitude, from the zone of mountains in central Asia to the frozen coasts of the Arctic Ocean, all Siberia abounds with these bones, but that the best fossil ivory is found in the frozen lands adjacent to the arctic circle; that the bones of large and small animals lie in some places piled together in great heaps, but in general they are scattered separately, as if they had been agitated by waters, and buried in mud and gravel.

The term mammoth has been applied indiscriminately to all the largest species of fossil animals, and is a word of Tartar origin, meaning simply "animal of the earth." It is now appropriated exclusively to the fossil elephant, of which one species only has been yet established, differing materially from the two existing species, which are limited, one to Asia the other to Africa.

Of all the fossil animals that have been ever discovered, the most remarkable is the entire carcass of a mammoth, with its flesh, skin, and hair still fresh and well preserved, which in the year 1803 fell from the frozen cliff of a peninsula in Siberia, near the mouth of the Lena*. Nearly five years elapsed between

* The details of this case were published by Dr. Tilesius in the fifth vol. of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Petersburg*, and also by Mr. Adams in the *Journal du Nord*, printed at Petersburg in 1807.

the period when this carcass was first observed by a Tungusian in the thawing cliff in 1799, and the moment when it became entirely disengaged, and fell down upon the strand, between the shore and the base of the cliff. Here it lay two more years; till great part of the flesh was devoured by wolves and bears: the skeleton was then collected by Mr. Adams and sent to Petersburg. Many of the ligaments were perfect, and also the head, with its integuments, weighing four hundred and fourteen pounds without the tusks, whose weight together was three hundred and sixty pounds. Great part of the skin of the body was preserved, and was covered with reddish wool and black hairs; about thirty-six pounds of hair were collected from the sand, into which it had been trampled by the bears.

The following description, by Mr. Adams, of the place in which this mammoth was found will form an interesting subject of comparison with Captain Beechey's account of the cliff in Eschscholtz Bay: "The place where I found the mammoth is about sixty paces distant from the shore, and nearly a hundred paces from the escarpment of the ice from which it had fallen. This escarpment occupies exactly the middle between the two points of the peninsula, and is two miles long: and in the place where the mammoth was found, this rock has a perpendicular elevation of thirty or forty toises. Its substance is a clear pure ice; it inclines towards the sea; its top is covered with a layer of moss and friable earth fourteen inches in thickness. During the heat of the month of July a part of this crust is melted, but the rest remains frozen. Curiosity induced me to ascend two other hills at some distance from the sea; they were of the same substance, and less covered with moss. In various places were seen enormous pieces of wood of all the kinds produced in Siberia: and also mammoth's horns, in great numbers, appeared between the hollows of the rocks; they all were of astonishing freshness. The escarpment of ice was from thirty-five to forty toises high: and according to the report of the Tungusians, the animal was, when they first saw it, seven toises below the surface of the ice," &c.

I have to observe on this passage, that it contains no decisive evidence to show that the ice seen by Mr. Adams on the front of the cliff from which the elephant had fallen, was any thing more than a superficial facing, similar to that found by Captain Beechey on parts of the front of the earthy cliff in Eschscholtz Bay; the same cliff which, a few years before, when visited by Kotzebue, seems to have been so completely incased with a false fronting of ice as to induce him to consider the entire hill to be a solid iceberg. One thing, however, is certain as to this mammoth, viz. that whether it was imbedded in a matrix of pure ice or of frozen earth, it must have been rapidly and totally enveloped in that matrix before its flesh had undergone decay, and that whatever may have been the climate of the coast of Siberia in antecedent periods, not only was it intensely cold within a few days after the mammoth perished, but it has also continued cold from that time to the present hour.

Remains of the rhinoceros also appear to be nearly co-extensive with those of the elephant in these northern regions. Pallas mentions the head of a rhinoceros which was found beyond Lake Baikal, near Tshikoi, and four heads and five horns of this animal from various parts of Siberia on the Irtis, the Alei, the Obi, and the Lena. These horns in the frozen districts are so well preserved, that splices of them are used by the natives to strengthen their bows.

Pallas conceived that these remains are not derived from animals that ever inhabited Siberia, but from carcasses drifted northward from the southern regions by some violent aqueous catastrophe, and that there is proof both of the violence and suddenness of this catastrophe in the phenomenon of an entire rhinoceros found with its skin, tendons, ligaments, and flesh preserved in the *frozen soil* of the coldest part of Eastern Siberia. On the arrival of Pallas in Ircutia in March, 1772, the head of this animal was laid before him, together with two of its feet, having their skin and flesh hardened like a mummy; it had been found in December, 1771, in the sand banks of the Wiluji, which runs in about 64° of north latitude into the Lena; the head and two feet only were taken care of; the rest

of the carcass, though much decayed, was still enclosed in its skin, and was left to perish: the bones were yellow; the foot had on its skin many hairs and roots of hairs. On various parts of the skin were stiff hairs from one to three inches long.

If we compare these phenomena of the arctic regions with those of other countries, and especially with England, we shall find it by no means peculiar to the northern extremities of the world to afford extensive deposits of diluvial mud and gravel, containing the remains of extinct species of the elephant and rhinoceros, together with those of horses, oxen, deer, and other land quadrupeds. A large portion of the east coast of England, particularly of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Yorkshire, and Northumberland, is composed of similar deposits of argillaceous diluvium, loaded in many places with bones of the same species of quadrupeds: these deposits are not only on the low grounds and lands of moderate elevation, but also on the summits of the highest hills. *e. g.* on the chalky cliff of Flamborough Head, four hundred and thirty feet above the sea. In the central parts of England, near Rugby, we have similar deposits, containing bones, tusks, and teeth of the same species of animals. In Scotland we have the same argillaceous diluvium on the east coast, near Peterhead, and near the western coast, at Kilmaurs, in Ayrshire, where it contains tusks of elephants and bones.

The analogies which these deposits offer to those in the arctic regions are very striking. In both cases the bones are of the same species of animals. In both cases they are imbedded in superficial deposits of mud and gravel of enormous extent and thickness. In both cases the deposits derive no accession from existing causes, and are suffering only continual loss and destruction by the action of the atmosphere, of rivers, and of the sea. Their chief peculiarity in the polar regions seems to consist in the congelation, to which the diluvium itself, as well as the remains included in it, are subject, from the influence of the present polar climate. Examples might be quoted to show the occurrence of similar remains in diluvial deposits all over Europe, and largely in America. Having then such extensive accumulations of the bones of animals, and the

detritus of rocks, all apparently resulting from the simultaneous action of water, but which the operation of existing seas and rivers in the districts occupied by this detritus can never have produced, and are only tending to destroy, we may surely be justified in referring them all to some adequate and common cause, such as the catastrophe of a violent and general inundation alone seems competent to have afforded.

The facts we have been considering are obviously much connected with the still unsettled question respecting the former climate and temperature of that part of the earth in which they occur. Too much stress has, I think, been laid on the circumstance of the mammoth in Siberia being covered with hair. We have living examples of animals in warm latitudes which are not less abundantly covered with hair and wool in proportion to the size, than the elephant at the mouth of the Lena. Such is the *hyæna villosa* lately noticed at the Cape by Dr. Smith, and described (vol. xv. plate 2, page 463, Linn. Trans.) as having the hair on the neck and body very long and shaggy, measuring in many places, but particularly about the sides and back, at least six inches; again, the thick shaggy covering on the anterior part on the body of the male lion, and the hairy coat of the camel (both of them inhabitants of the warmest climates), present analogies which show that no conclusive argument in proof that the Siberian elephant was the inhabitant of a cold climate can be drawn from the fact of the skin of the frozen carcass at the mouth of the Lena having been covered with coarse hair and wool, but even if it were proved that the climate of the arctic regions was the same both before and after the extirpation of these animals, still must we refer to some great catastrophe to account for the fact of their universal extirpation; and from those who deny the occurrence of such catastrophe, it may fairly be demanded why these extinct animals have not continued to live on to the present hour. It is vain to contend that they have been subdued and extirpated by man, since whatever may be conceded as possible with respect to Europe, it is in the highest degree improbable that he could have exercised such influence over the whole vast wilderness of Northern Asia, and almost impossible that he could have done so in the boundless forests of North

America. The analogy of the non extirpation of the elephant and rhinoceros on the continent and islands of India, where man has long been at least as far advanced in civilization, and much more populous than he can ever have been in the frozen wilds of Siberia, shows that he does not extirpate the living species of these genera in places where they are his fellow-tenants of the present surface of the earth. The same non-extirpation of the elephant and rhinoceros occurs also in the less civilized regions of Africa; still further, it may be contended, that if man had invaded the territories of the mammoth and its associates, until he became the instrument of their extirpation, we should have found, ere now, some of the usual indications which man, even in his wildest state, must leave behind him; some few traces of savage utensils, arrows, knives and other instruments of stone and bone, and the rudest pottery; or, at all events, some bones of man himself would, ere this, have been discovered among the numberless remains of the lost species which he had extirpated. It follows, therefore, from the absence of human bones and of works of art in the same deposits with the remains of mammoths, that man did not exist in these northern regions of the earth at or before the time in which the mammoths were destroyed; and the enormous accumulation of the wreck of mountains that has been mixed up with their remains points to some great aqueous revolution as the cause by which their sudden and total extirpation was effected. It cannot be contended, that like small and feeble species, they may have been destroyed by wild animals more powerful than themselves. The bulk and strength of the mammoth and rhinoceros, the two largest quadrupeds in the creation, render such an hypothesis utterly untenable.

The state of the argument then respecting the former climate of the polar regions is nearly as follows:—It is probable that in remote periods, when the earliest strata were deposited, the temperature of a great part of the northern hemisphere equalled or exceeded that of our modern tropics, and that it has been reduced to its present state by a series of successive changes. The evidence of this high temperature and of these changes consists in the regular and successive variations in the

character of extinct plants and animals which we find buried one above another in the successive strata that compose the crust of the globe. These have in modern times been investigated with sufficient care and knowledge of the subject to render it almost certain that successive changes, from extreme to moderate heat, have taken place in those parts of the northern hemisphere which constitute central and southern Europe; and although we are not yet enough acquainted with the details of the geology of the arctic regions to apply this argument to them with the same precision and to the same extent as to lower latitudes, still we have detached examples of organic remains in high latitudes sufficient to show the former existence of heat in the regions where they are found—a few detached spots within the arctic circle, that can be shown to have been once the site of extensive coral reefs, are as decisive in proof that the climate in these spots was warm at the time when these corals lived and grew into a reef, as, on the other hand, the carcass of a single elephant preserved in ice is decisive of the existence of continual and intense cold ever since the period at which it perished. We have for some time known that in and near Melville Island, and it has been ascertained by Captain Beechey's expedition, that at Cape Thompson, near Beering's Strait, there occur within the arctic circle extensive rocks of lime-stone containing many of the same fossil shells and fossil corals that abound in the carboniferous lime-stone of Derbyshire: the remains of fossil marine turtles also (*chelonina radiata*) have been ascertained by Professor Fischer to exist in Siberia. These are enough to show that the climate could not have been cold at the time and place when they were deposited; and the analogy of adjacent European latitudes renders it probable that the same cooling processes that were going on in them extended their influence to the polar regions also, producing successive reductions of temperature, accompanied by corresponding changes in the animal and vegetable creation, until the period arrived in which the elephant and rhinoceros inhabited nearly the entire surface of what are now the temperate and frigid zones of the northern hemisphere.

Assuming then on such evidence as I have alluded to, the former high temperature of the arctic circle, and knowing from the investment in ice and preservation of the carcass of the mammoth, that this region was intensely cold at the time immediately succeeding its death, and has so continued to the present hour; the point on which we are most in want of decisive evidence is the temperature of the climate in which the mammoth lived. It is in violation of existing analogies to suppose that any extinct elephant or rhinoceros was more tolerant of cold than extinct corallines or turtles; and as this northern region of the earth seems to have undergone successive changes from heat to cold, so it is probable that the last of these changes was coincident with the extirpation of the mammoth. That this last change was sudden is shown by the preservation of the carcass in ice; had it been gradual, it might have caused the extinction of the mammoth in the polar regions, but would afford no reason for its equal extirpation in lower latitudes: but if sudden and violent, and attended by a general inundation, the temperature preceding this catastrophe may have been warm, and that immediately succeeding it intensely cold; and the cause producing this change of climate may also have produced an inundation, sufficient to destroy and bury in its ruins the animals which then inhabited the surface of the earth.

I shall conclude these observations with quoting in his own words the opinions of Cuvier, which have always appeared to me the most correct and most philosophical that have been yet advanced upon this subject.*

* Tout rend donc extrêmement probable que les éléphants qui ont fourni les os fossiles habitoient et vivoient dans les pays où l'on trouve aujourd'hui leurs ossemens.

Ils n'ont pu y disparaître que par une révolution qui a fait périr tous les individus existans alors, ou par un changement de climat qui les a empêché de s'y propager.

Mais quelle qu'ait été cette cause, elle a dû être subite les os et l'ivoire si parfaitement conservés dans les plaines de la Sibérie, ne le sont que par le froid qui les y congèle, ou qui en général arrête l'action des élémens sur eux. Si ce froid n'étoit arrivé que par degrés et avec lenteur, ces ossemens, et à plus forte raison les parties molles dont ils sont encore

MEXICAN BEES.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE HABITS OF A MEXICAN BEE,

DRAWN FROM THE NOTES OF CAPTAIN BEECHER, WITH A DESCRIPTION
OF THE INSECT AND OF ITS HIVE, BY E. T. BENNETT, ESQ., F.R.S., &C.

In the hives of the domesticated bees of Mexico we meet with a structure altogether peculiar. They exhibit little of the regularity of construction which characterizes the hives of the bees of the old continent, and are far inferior in this respect to the habitations of wasps. In one particular they approximate to the nests of the European humble bees; the honey which they contain is deposited in large bags distinct from the common cells. It is somewhat singular that so interesting a point of natural history has never been particularly noticed: our previous knowledge scarcely extending beyond the facts, that some of the bees of America form nests, like those of wasps, attached to, or suspended from trees, and covered by an outer case constructed by themselves; while

quelques enveloppés auroient eu le temps de se décomposer comme
que l'on trouve dans les pays chauds et tempérés.

Il auroit été surtout bien impossible qu'un cadavre tout entier, tel que
celui que M. Adams a découvert, eût conservé ses chairs et sa peau sans
protection, s'il n'avoit été enveloppé immédiatement par les glaces qui
l'ont conservé.

Ainsi toutes les hypothèses d'un refroidissement graduel de la terre,
ou d'une variation lente, soit dans l'inclinaison, soit dans la position de
la globe, tombent d'elles-mêmes.

Cuvier, Ossemens Fossiles, 1821, tom. i. p. 203.

others, incapable apparently of forming this outer crust for their hives, seek cavities ready formed for their reception, and in them construct their habitations. Instances of each of these kinds of hives are mentioned by Piso in his *Natural History* of both the Indies (page 112); and Hernandez, in his history of Mexico (Lib. ix. p. 133), states, that the Indians keep bees analogous to ours, which deposit their honey in the hollows of trees. Little information beyond that furnished by these older writers is contained in more modern works; and even the Baron Von Humboldt, to whose acute observation science is indebted for so many discoveries respecting the New World, appears not have noticed, with his usual care, the peculiarities of its bees. Had that distinguished traveller directed his attention to the habits of the species which he collected during his memorable journey, M. Latreille would doubtless have given to us the necessary details in his excellent *Monograph of the American Bees*, included in the *Observations Zoologiques* of M. Humboldt. In the valuable essay prefixed to this *Monograph*, M. Latreille has collected from authors numerous statements relating to the habitations of bees, and especially of those of America; but has added to them no new facts as regards the hives of the New World. The subject may, therefore, be regarded as altogether novel, and as requiring some little detail in its explanation.

In the domestication of the bees of Mexico but little violence is done to their natural habits. Inhabitants, in their wild state, of cavities in trees, a hollow tree is selected to form their hive. A portion of it, of between two and three feet in length, is cut off, and a hole is bored through the sides into the hollow, at about its middle. The ends of the hollow are then stopped up with clay, and the future hive is suspended on a tree, in a horizontal position, with the hole opening to the cavity directed also horizontally. Of the hive, thus prepared, a swarm of bees speedily take possession, and commence their operations by forming cells for the reception of their larvæ, and sacs to contain the superabundant honey collected by them in their excursions. Two such hives, completely formed and occupied, were brought to England, safely packed in re-

cent hides. Of these one has been forwarded to M. Huber, eminently distinguished for his highly interesting observations on the manners of bees; the other has been presented to the Linnean Society. The latter has been carefully divided longitudinally, so as to expose its interior; a representation of which is given on the opposite plate, one half of the natural size. In this view nearly the whole of the interior is visible; scarcely a score of the cells, and very few of the honey sacs, having been removed with the upper portion of the trunk. It represents the comb as it would be seen in its natural horizontal position, by an observer looking upon it from above.

The eye of an observer, accustomed to the regular disposition of the comb in the hive of the European bee, is at once struck with the opposite directions assumed by it in different parts of that of the Mexican. Instead of the parallel vertical layers of comb, we have here layers, some of which assume a vertical, while others are placed in a horizontal direction; the cells of the latter being the most numerous. The cells, of course, vary in their direction, in the same manner as the comb which they form: those of the horizontal layers of comb being vertical, with their openings upwards, while the cells of the vertical comb are placed in a horizontal direction. In the horizontal cells the mouths are partly directed away from the entrance to the hive, and partly towards it; the former direction being given to those cells which occupy the middle layers of comb, and the latter to the cells which are placed on the side of the hive opposed to the opening. All the combs, both vertical and horizontal, are composed of a single series of cells applied laterally to each other, and not, as in the European hive bee, of two series, the one applied against the extremities of the other. The horizontal combs are much more regularly formed than the vertical, the latter being broken, and placed at uncertain distances, while the horizontal are perfectly parallel with each other, forming uniform layers, and placed at equal distances. Between these parallel combs are processes of wax, partly supporting them, and passing from the base of one cell to the junction of others in the next layer.

These columns are considerably stronger and thicker than the sides of the cells which they support.

The cells appear to be destined solely for the habitation of the young bees; for in all that have been examined bees have been found. The bee is placed in the cell with its hinder parts directed towards the mouth of the cell, which is covered by a granular mass, probably composed of the pollen of plants. The form of the cells is hexangular, but the angles are not sharply defined, and the mouth is scarcely, if at all, thicker than the sides. In their dimensions and relative proportions they differ materially from those of the European, and still more from those of the Indian bees, as may be seen by the subjoined table :

	Mexican.	European.	Indian.
Diameter of cell	. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Depth of ditto	. 4	5 . 6	4 $\frac{1}{2}$. 6

All of those which are visible appear to be uniform in size; nor without the destruction of the specimen can it be ascertained whether there are any larger cells for the larvæ of the males of the queen.

The combs are placed together at some distance from the opening of the hive, and form a group of an oval shape, consisting of five horizontal and parallel layers, occupying the part most remote from the opening; of an interrupted vertical layer applied to the side opposed to the opening; and of two principal, and two or three smaller, vertical layers in the middle. The whole of these are supported by wax, spread out into layers borne on processes of the same material, resting either on the wood of the cavity, or on other parts of the fabric of the comb. In these processes and layers of wax are numerous openings of various sizes, at once admitting of ready access for the inhabitants to every part of the hive, and economizing the use of the material of which they are constructed. Some of the openings are of large dimensions. The entrance into the hive is continued into a long gallery, which, to judge from the direction taken by a flexible substance introduced into it, leads beneath the combs to their

very extremity. It is therefore probable that at the extremity the work of building commenced.

Surrounding the combs are several layers of wax, as thin as paper, irregular in their form, and placed at some little distance from each other, the interstices varying from a quarter to half an inch. One of these supports a vertical comb; the others are connected to the combs only at their edges, or by processes or layers of wax. Externally to these are placed the sacs for containing honey, which are generally large, and rounded in form. They vary in size, some of them exceeding an inch and a half in diameter. They are supported by processes of wax from the wood of the cavity, or from each other, and are frequently applied side by side, so as mutually to afford strength to each other, and to allow of one side serving equally for two sacs. Their disposition is altogether irregular, and bears some resemblance to that of a portion of a bunch of grapes, rendering it probable that Nieremberg was acquainted with a similar nest, if not actually that of the same bee, although he denies to the one described by him the power of constructing combs. Some of the honey-sacs are placed apart from the others, forming a distinct cluster of the same general appearance as those immediately adjoining the comb.

From this singular position of the honey-sacs a most important advantage is obtained by the cultivators of the Mexican hive bee. To possess themselves of its honey it is unnecessary to have recourse to the means adopted in Europe for stupefying, or even destroying, the inhabitants of the hive. All that is necessary is, to remove the plug from the end of the cavity employed as a hive, to introduce the hand, and withdraw the honey-sacs. The store of the laborious bee is thus transferred to the proprietor of the hive without injuring, and almost without disturbing its inhabitants. The end of the hive is then again stopped up; and the bees hasten to lay up a fresh store of honey in lieu of that of which they have been despoiled, again to be robbed of their precious deposit. A hive treated in this way affords, during the summer, at least two harvests.

The honey is usually pressed from the sacs by the hand. Its consistence is thin, but its flavour is good, although inferior to that of the whiter honey furnished by the Spanish bee (probably our *Apis mellifica*, L.). It does not readily ferment, some of that contained in the hive being perfectly sweet and grateful, even after its arrival in England.

The wax is coarse in quality; its colour is a dark yellowish-brown. The whole of it appears to be similar in texture and properties, as well that used in the construction of the cells, as that which is applied to the coarser work of forming honey-sacs and supports; the only remarkable difference being, that in the former it is apparently paler, probably owing to the layers employed being considerably thinner and more delicate.

Of the varnish-like substance known by the name of propolis, and used by the European bees to cover the foreign substances with which they frequently come in contact, scarcely any vestige is exhibited, although we have evidence of its existence. The wood of the inside of the hive, except where wax is applied to it, is perfectly naked.

The hollow of the trunk forming the hive now before us is irregular in its outline, and varies in its breadth in different parts. Its average diameter, however, is about five inches. The length occupied by the cells is more than seven inches; and the total length between the extremities of the honey-sacs is fifteen inches. The number of its inhabitants, assuming that of the cells as a guide, must have been considerably under a thousand; a number trifling in comparison with that contained in the hives of the European bee, which commonly amounts to as many as twenty-four thousand.

The bee by which this nest is constructed is smaller than the European hive bee; its abdomen, especially, being much shorter than that of our common species. Like all those American bees which approach in their habits to our European race, it is readily distinguished from that, and from all other hive bees yet discovered in the Old World, by the form of the first joint of its hinder tarsi, which is that of a triangle, with the apex applied to the tibia. On account of this variation in the form of a part so important to the economy of bees, mo-

dern entomologists have universally agreed in the propriety of regarding the American races as constituting a distinct group from the bees of the Old World. M. Latreille has gone further, by subdividing the American bees into two genera; *Melipona*, in which the mandibles are not toothed; and *Trigona*, in which these organs are dentate. Of the propriety of this subdivision, which hitherto seemed to be supported by the general appearance of the insects referred to each group, the examination of the bee whose nest has been just described has given rise to considerable doubts. In it one of the mandibles is toothed, and the other is nearly entire. Its technical characters, therefore, are intermediate between the two genera, with a leaning toward *Trigona*; but its general appearance is entirely that of a *Melipona*, approaching very closely to that of *Melipona favosa*, Latr., *Apis favosa*, Fab. That it cannot be that species, or any of the nearly related ones described by M. Latreille in the *Observations Zoologiques*, is evident from the dentation of its mandible, and it may, therefore, be regarded as new to science. It is described in a note *. The

* MELIPONA BEECHEII. — *Mel. nigrescens, margine postico segmentorum abdominis quinque anteriorum flavo: mandibulâ sinistrâ apice bi-vel tridentatâ.*

DESCR.—*Corpus* totum nigrescens, præter abdominis segmentorum margines.

Mandibula sinistra apice bi-vel tri-dentata, dextera submutica: ambæ pallidè refescentibrunnæ, basi apiceque tantum brunneo-nigris.

Clypeus albido-villosus, maculis tribus nigris: duæ laterales elongatæ, unica apicalis rotundata.

Antennæ articulo primo brunneo-fusco, pallidiori: reliquis saturatioribus.

Facies infernè albido-, supernè fusco-, villosa.

Thorax totus rufescenti-tomentosus.

Abdomen rufescenti-pubescent: segmentorum quinque anteriorum margines postici flavi.

Venter albido-villosus: segmentorum quinque anteriorum margines postici albido-flavescentes.

Pectus albido-tomentosum.

Femora tibique nigrae, albido-villosæ, tibiæ posticæ maculâ mediâ rufescenti-brunnæ.

Tarsi fulvi, anticè albido-, posticè et ad apices, rufo-villosi.

Alæ dilutè rufescentes, nervis rufescentibus.

name which is there proposed for it is a just tribute to the observer, to whom we owe the first opportunity possessed in Europe of becoming acquainted with its habits and economy.

Some curious stories are related by the possessors as to the manners of these bees, one of which deserves to be recorded. They assert that at the entrance of each hive a sentinel is placed to watch the outgoings and incomings of his fellows, and that this sentinel is relieved at the expiration of twenty-four hours, when another assumes his post and duties for the same period. On the duration of this guard some doubts may seasonably be entertained, but of its existence ample evidence was obtained by repeated observation. At all times a single bee was seen occupying the hole leading to the nest, who, on the approach of another, withdrew himself within a small cavity, apparently made for this purpose on the left-hand side of the aperture, and thus allowed the passage of the individual entering or quitting the hive; the sentinel constantly resuming his station immediately after the passage had been effected. That it was the same bee which had withdrawn that again took his station in the opening, could not be mistaken; for his withdrawal was only into the cavity on the side of the hole, in which his head was generally in view during the brief interval while the other was passing; and that head again immediately started forwards into the passage. During how long a time the same individual remained on duty could not be ascertained; for although many attempts were made to mark him, by introducing a pencil tipped with paint, he constantly eluded the aim taken at him, and it was therefore impossible to determine with certainty whether the current reports concerning him were or were not founded in fact. With the paint thus attempted to be applied to the bee, the margin of the opening was soiled; and the sentinel, as soon as he was free from the annoyance he suffered from the thrusts repeatedly made at his body, approached the foreign substance to taste it, and evidently disliking the material he withdrew into his hive. The hole was watched to see what would be the result of this investigation of the substance, and a troop of bees was soon observed to advance towards the place, each

individual bearing a small particle of wax or of propolis in his mandibles, which he deposited in his turn upon the soiled part of the wood. The little labourers then returned to the hive, and repeated the operation until a small pile rose above the blemished part, and completely relieved the inhabitants from its annoyance.

If the existence of such a sentinel as has just been described can safely be admitted, his utility would be unquestionable, as being at all times prepared to encounter a straggling stranger, or to give warning of the approach of a more numerous body of foes. Such foes actually exist in moderately sized black ants, which sometimes in small, and occasionally in large, bands attack the hive, and between which and the industrious bees desperate conflicts often take place. In these struggles the bees generally obtain the victory; but they are occasionally mastered by the overpowering numbers of their opponents.

VOCABULARY

OF

WORDS OF THE WESTERN ESQUIMAUX.

THIS vocabulary contains a collection of words made by Mr. Collie, Mr. Osmer, and myself, from straggling parties of Esquimaux, whom we met principally in Kotzebue Sound. It agrees in many respects with that given by Captain Parry in his second voyage, particularly in the numerals, the elements, and celestial bodies, and the names of animals which are common to both places, and leaves no doubt of the two languages being radically the same; though, as might be expected, the idioms are somewhat different.

Captain Parry's remarks upon the language of the Eastern Esquimaux seem to apply equally to that of the Western nation, of which the very few words beginning with *b*, *d*, *l*, *g*, *r*, *u*, and the absence of the letters, *f*, *q*, *v*, *x*, may be adduced as instances. The Western Esquimaux also appear to have the peculiarity of varying their pronunciation, but without materially softening the words. On the whole, the Western Esquimaux language has more gutturals, and the words in general have a harsher sound than those of the Eastern tribe.

My knowledge of the language is too limited to enable me to offer any further remarks on this subject, and I can only submit the vocabulary as it is, persuaded, from the care that has been bestowed upon it, that it will prove useful to persons who may visit the N. W. coast of America. At the same time I cannot vouch for a perfect understanding always subsisting between the inquirer and the respondent, though I have reason to think it was not often otherwise. The most ridiculous mistakes have occasionally been made

by collectors of words of barbarous languages, and I was early warned to be careful, by being innocently enrolled in the number of persons who had been deceived. I one day showed an Esquimaux an engraving of a musk bull, to which he immediately applied the name of Mignune; and I wrote in my vocabulary accordingly, but I soon afterwards discovered that the word applied only to the material with which the bull appeared to be drawn, that is, *plumbago*, of which the Esquimaux have a great deal, and that the proper name for the animal was a very different word.

The initials in the small column denote the collector; those words which have a C affixed to them are to be pronounced according to the following directions:

"A is either a³ (fat), or a⁴ (far), as in Walker's English Pronouncing Dictionary. This letter is generally marked, and when it is not, its association with the consonants will point out the particular sound to be used.* E is generally the e³ of the above-mentioned Dictionary, but when marked é, it is to be pronounced as in *me*. Ei is to be pronounced as in German, *ein, eisel, gieser*. Eu as in French. I as in piⁿ. O as in no^t, or otherwise, as marked. Oo as in *moon*. U as in lu^b.

Ll is according to the Spanish pronunciation, and gl, where mentioned, according to the Italian; where not, as in English. Qu as in English. R as in French, and R⁺ still more roughly guttural as in the Northumbrian dialect. This mark (+) always points out a guttural pronunciation, and is very common in the language; some individuals, however, using it much more than others. S is pronounced as in *side*, and ss as in *glass*. Y as in *yet*, and never used as a vowel. ~ is sounded as in *lizard*. Ch is the Spanish x, and the Greek χ of the Scotch Universities. Gh has nearly the same sound.

* Au is to be sounded as *asout* in French—very nearly as *ow* in the English word *sound*. Ai is heard in *wild*. G is hard, unless otherwise mentioned.

English Names.	Esquimaux Names.	
Adze, an	{ Oo-lée mā, Oo lim-mā Oo-lée mow (axe) Tschik-luk	. C. . B. . B.
Anchor	Kee-sock	. B.
Arm, the	At tsik	. C.
below the elbow	Tad-leek	. B.
Armlet, a thin piece of ivory or leather formed so as to cover part of the wrist and defend it from the bow-string, &c.	{ Man-yēra (yconst)	. C.
Arrow	Kak-a-rōok	. B.
head of bone, sharp	Ka-wēe ruk	. C.
ditto, blunt	Koo-koo-gwait	. ib.
ditto, stone	Ko-kick-chltēvik	. ib.
ditto, ditto	{ A-kal-look-see-goo-tat (see Stone	. ib.
dumb-head	Knoo-e-ak	. B.
Awl	Poo-toon	. O.
Axe	Atti-ghim-nuk	. B.
Back, the	Ko-lé-ka?	. C.
Bag, a (of salmon-skin)	{ Poo-tshik } (R) Pee a ruk } 1	. ib.
ditto (of canvas)	Porúss ák?	. ib.
Baidar	{ Oo-me-ak Oō-mēe-ák	. B. . C.
Ball, a cannon	O-whak	. ib.
Bark, (of a dog)	Ky-muk	. O.
Beach, the	Tsinnar	. B.
Bead (of any colour) and size	{ Tshung-au-ník Thung-au-rēt	. C. . ib.
ditto	Tshung-áu-rā-wik	. ib.
Beads	Tshung-au-runnik	. ib.
blue	Chu-nōw-rāh	. B.
Bear, a	Chū-ou-rēnnék	. ib.
skin of	Tsu-nārr, or Tsu-nāck	. ib.
Beard and whiskers	{ Ib-neē ák Oo-mach-oomit Oomich (r)	. C. . ib. . ib.

English Names.	Esquimaux Names.
Beaver (the animal) ..	{ Kee-yee-ak . . . C.
Beaver (etched upon bone)	{ Wai-luk-tuk . . . ib.
skin ..	{ Kee-yee-ak . . . ib.
Belly ..	{ ditto . . . ib.
of a woman ..	{ Nai-yak . . . ib.
of a man ..	{ Nad-djigga . . . ib.
Bill, of a bird ..	{ Dirdück . . . B.
	{ Ee-ed-djook . . . C.
Bird ..	{ Tin-me-a-rit ⁺ . . . ib.
swimming ..	{ Ting-mě-loō-rak . . . ib.
Bite, to ..	{ Ti-mai-rik . . . ib.
	{ Nig-ge-rung-ā . . . C.
	{ Kai-ook-toon ? . . .
Black colour ..	{ Kang-no-ak . . . } ib.
	{ To-ring-mātik . . . }
Blood ..	{ A-ook . . . C.
	{ Ka-ōop-e . . . B.
Blue, it is ..	{ Renneck . . . ib.
Blue and azure colour ..	{ Ka-oo-gli-ak . . . C.
	{ A-gli-oo-ik . . . ib.
Blubber ..	{ Tsed-lu-ou-rok . . . B.
Body ..	{ A-seet . . . ib.
Bone ..	{ Oa-ee-yak . . . C.
Boots, native ..	{ Kum-muk . . . } ib.
	{ Kummugga . . . }
Book ..	{ A-gluc i-wick . . . O.
Bore, to ..	{ Nee-ook-toon . . . C.
Bottle, (a glass) ..	{ Ee-moon . . . ib.
Bottle ..	{ Im-wō-en . . . B.
Bow, a ..	{ Petik, aik, Pitik-shi-a . . . ib.
Bow-string ..	{ Oo-kwak-ta . . . ib.
Bow (a broken one) ..	{ Na wik-túk Petiksik . . . C.
Bow to shoot with (as carved)	{ Pe-teik-ta-rik . . . ib.
Bow, for shooting ..	{ Pee-tik-seek, or Setka . . . B.
Bowl, a ..	{ Kalloon-goo-reak . . . ib.
Bowl, of wood ..	{ Nanna-uck . . . ib.
(a large wooden) ..	{ Poo-gōō-tuck . . . B.
Box ..	{ Chōō-lōō-dit . . . ib.
Box, a small ivory ..	{ Aul-toon . . . C.

English Names.	Esquimaux Names.
Boy	Ein-yook . . . C.
Brass, a large hook of ..	Tsha-wa-kacht . . . ib.
Branch of a shrub ..	Ok-pwit . . . ib.
Bring it	Koki-ghe-e-wha . . . B.
Bring it here	Kok-ee-gee-ga . . . C.
Breast, a person's ..	A-tig-git, Tsha-guga (p) . . . ib.
Breasts, a woman's ..	Ei-ing-gek-ku . . . ib.
Broken, a stick	Na-wik-tuk . . . ib.
Broken	A-yūk-se-märt . . . B.
Breeches	{ Koo-now-ita . . . ib. Koke-lek . . . O.
Bull, a	Moong-mack . . . B.
Button	Nuck-top-ou . . . ib.
Butterfly	{ Dtar-dle-ē-utsik . . . ib. Tak-kull-loo-kwī-tak . . . C.
Button	Nak-to-ik . . . ib.
Buttocks, the	Ek-kook (p ^d) . . . ib.
Canoe	Ki-yack . . . B.
Canoe of skins	Kai-yak . . . C.
Cap, or hood	Naza-oūn . . . B.
Cap, an European ..	Nad-dsaun . . . C.
Cap, native, of birch bark ..	Poo-tak . . . ib.
Catch, to (when throwing) ..	A-kok-shō . . . ib.
Chain	Knoo-oo-lok . . . O.
	+
Chamisso Island ..	{ Ee-a-roo-ik . . . ib. Eow-ick . . . ib.
Cheek, the	Oo-loo-ruk-ka, O-u-lu-at (w) C.
Child, a	Ee-gee-lu-gu-ga-ga . . . ib.
Chin	{ Ta-bloo-a, Ta-boo-log } . . . ib. Tub-du-ah (p ^d) . . .
Clouds	Noo-oo-eè-a . . . ib.
Codlings (small fish) ..	Mōng-a ? . . . ib.
Cold, (shivering)	Kai-rung-a . . . ib.
	Igli-zucket . . . B.
Comb, a hair	{ Igli-oo-tik . . . O. I-gli-a-oo-tik . . . C.
	Tshee-mee-at . . . ib.
Cork, a	{ Chim-ēya . . . B.

English Names.	Esquimaux Names.
Cough	Koak-tshee-nar . . O.
Cow or calf	Nai-mik-toók-too . . C.
Crab, a	{ Poo-ōo-i-ak . . ib.
	{ Edloo-az-rey-uk . . B.
Creep, to, on hands and feet ..	Pa-mok-tok . . C.
Crow-berries	Azee-ret, A-zee-ak . . ib.
Crow-berry bush	Pa-oo-mau-tit . . C.
Cry	Ky-rook . . O.
Cup, ivory	Ki-oon-na . . C.
Curlew, a	Shee-ak-too-ok . . ib.
Dance, native	Kal-lau-rok-tok . . ib.
Dance, or jumping up and down	{ Ang-a-yoo-rok, . . } ib.
	{ In-noo-ret (w) . . }
Dart, a small	Ninee-uk-puk . . B.
Dart for birds	Ni-nask-puk . . ib.
Dart with three prongs in the middle	Noo-yak-kwa . . C.
Deck, the ship's	Muk-ti-hik . . ib.
Deer-skin frock	E-ee-rah, or Atti guy . . B.
Deer-skin	Itch-sek . . ib.
Dodo (a bird)	Ne-ak-tshuk . . C.
Dog, skin of	Kim-muck . . B.
Dog, a	{ Kenma . . C.
	{ Koo-ne-ack . . B.
Drill (a native)	E-dill-leem . . C.
Drill-bow	Too-koo-ra . . ib.
used also for procuring a light	Too-wachk . . ib.
Drill, to	Pee-tak-toon . . ib.
Drill-socket	{ Keng-me-ak . . B.
	{ Omee-yāk . . ib.
Drink, to	Ee-moon . . C.
Drink	E-mug . . B.
Drum, or tambourine	Chowg-suk . . ib.
	E-wūck . . ib.
Duck, a	{ Ee-wāk ^{2a} (i) . . C.
	{ Ee-wark (κ) . . ib.
Ear, the	{ Tchee-u-tik . . O.
	{ See-teek . . B.
	{ Tsēē-tuk, Tsee-lig-ga . . C.
	{ Tsheē-dik (w)

English Names.			Esquimaux Names.		
Earthen-jar			Ig-hu-nee	.	B.
Eat (or chew) to	..	..	{ A-shad-lqo-ik	.	C.
			{ Ishad-loo-weet	.	B.
Egg	..	..	Man-nik	.	O.
Eight	..	..	Penayua	.	B.
Elbow, the	..	..	Ce-koot-aik, or Eedceootsik	.	C.
Eye, the	..	..	{ Erick	.	B.
			{ Eer ruk-ka, Ee-rik, Erruk	.	C.
Eyebrow, the	..	..	{ Ka-bloo-ce-a, Ka-blo-otka	.	ib.
			{ Ka-bloo-ai	.	B.
Face, the	..	..	{ Kee-na, or Kinna	.	C.
			{ Kenuck	.	B.
Falcon	..	..	Kje-goo-at	.	ib.
Far off	..	..	Münna	.	ib.
Fawn (as carved)	..	..	Eum-nak	.	C.
Feather, a	..	..	Tshoo-lak	.	ib.
Finger, the first	..	..	Teg-heya	.	B.
middle	..	..	Ko-duk-luk	.	ib.
third	..	..	Mak-la-e-rah	.	ib.
little	..	..	Ekick-koke	.	ib.
Fingers, the	..	..	Ta-maridreh	.	C.
nail, the	..	..	{ Koo-kwit-ka, Koo-kwik-ka	.	ib.
			{ Koo-kwik-kur tamar-drah	.	ib.
			{ Koo-gwek (pd)	.	ib.
Finger, the first	..	..	Tee-ge-ra, Tee-ke-ra	.	ib.
second	..	..	{ Kei-tik-kluk-a	.	ib.
			{ Kei-tik-kiuk, Kei-tik-klo-a	.	ib.
third	..	..	{ Muk-gle-rad	.	ib.
			{ Meu-gigg-le-ra	.	ib.
little	..	..	E-rit-ka-mak	.	ib.
Fire, a	..	..	{ Ig-nik	.	B.
			{ Ignuck	.	C.
Fire, to strike	..	..	Ig-ne-dit	.	B.
Fish	..	..	Khallo-ight, Khalloo	.	C.
Fish, small	..	..	Too-mo-e	.	ib.
long	..	..	Tyoong-me	.	B.
Flounder, (or flat-fish)	..	..	Ik-hanni-luk	.	ib.
Fly, a	..	..	Ko-kwel-lock	.	B.
Foot of a man, or animal	..	..	Iddi-guy	.	B.

English Names.	Esquimaux Names.	
Foot or feet	Il-te-ga-ra	C.
Fork, ivory, used also as a comb	Ni-yik-kik	ib.
Fox	Kiok-toot	B.
Fox (as carved)	Ka-ee-yok	C.
Fox-skin, brown	Ka-ee-yok-tok ²⁶	ib.
Friend, or term of friendship ..	Il-lipo-lee	ib.
Frock, (skin)	Oo-kwäk, Oo-kwa	ib.
made of gut	{ Nyel-look, also Ka-pee-tuk,	
of hare-skin	Ka-be-took	ib.
Funnel, a (copper stove)	Oö-quad-lik	ib.
Fur	Kan-mu-yuk	ib.
	Mit-koot	ib.
Garnets	Nalloo-na-vitka ?	ib.
Gaiters	Kammuck	B.
Geese, rising	Tattee-ree-gak	C.
(as carved)	{ Tattee-regu, Tut-tee-lee-a	
	ruk, and nalloo-yik-ka	ib.
Give it me	{ Pee-gle-gi-woong-a	
	Wung-ee-gla-gu	C.
Glove (of natives)	{ A-dré-get, At-ka-li-ga, A-	
	dre-ret	ib.
Gloves	Adj-guy-redt	B.
Go away	Illip-se	ib.
Go, to	Il-ti-wal-luk	C.
Going away	Pēē-art	B.
Goat	{ Koo-nē-äk	C.
	Ip-na-uck	B.
Good, very	Nee-ok-muk	C.
Good, I am	Na-koo-roo-oh	ib.
Good, it is	Na-koo-rit	C.
it, or he is	Ma-may-poke	B.
Good, not	Na-koo-rit-nau	C.
Grass, engravings of	O-kwait ⁽²⁷⁾	ib.
Grass	Ee-boo-wit ⁽²⁷⁾	ib.
Green colour	O kok	ib.
Grouse	Ar-hay-ghi-uk	B.
Gull, a white	Alla-wa, Naw-yet ?	C.
Gull (parasitic)	Ike-muk	ib.
small (L. Sabini)	{ E-ga-goo-i-ak (1)	
	Kai-ki-ge-gai-ak (κ)	ib.

English Names.			Esquimaux Names.		
Gun, a	..	..	Kee-suk	.	R
Gun, a great	..	..	Tshoo-poon, On-youna	.	C.
Guard-fish	..	..	Tz near-ōök	.	B.
Hair, of the head	..	..	{ Noot-tset, Noot-zatka, Noot-tset-ka Dtoo-tset (pd)	.	{ C.
Hair, human	..	..	Nuchet	.	B.
Hammer, an iron	..	..	Ka-wook, Kè-kek-toon	.	C.
Hammer, to	..	..	Karoo-o-tuck	.	B.
Hammer, to, or strike with	..	..	{ Kar-roo-tok Ktai-roo-ik	.	{ ib.
Hand, the	..	..	Arge-gei, Ardge-gei	.	C.
Hare, a	..	..	{ O-good-logh Quel-luk (κ)	.	{ ib. C.
Harpoon (as thrown)	..	..	Oo-nāk	.	ib.
Harpoon, as carried when walking	..	..	Oo-nee-yak	.	ib.
Harpoon, to	..	..	Naul-lik-kwa	.	ib.
Harpoon-line (coil of)	..	..	Allara	.	ib.
Harpoon	..	..	{ Allik Nenak-pluk	.	{ ib. B.
Head, the	..	..	{ Nea-koa Né-ak-kwa	.	{ ib. C.
crown of	..	..	Ka'b-br'a	.	ib.
of my	..	..	Ka'b-dja'k-ka'	.	ib.
front of	..	..	Kä-wä, or Ka'b-wa'	.	ib.
Heel	..	..	Kite-meek	.	O.
Hook, fish	..	..	Nik-sik	.	C.
and line	..	..	Nicht-siak	.	ib.
Hoop, for tent	..	..	Sow-soro-uk	.	B.
Husband	..	..	Qua-ōög	.	C.
I, or me	..	..	Wōōng-a	.	ib.
Image, an	..	..	Inné-moo-rok	.	B.
Imber goose, a young	..	..	Mul-le-kāk	.	C.
Inlet	..	..	Ro-ōök	.	ib.
Instrument (musical) made of a	..	..	{ Ni-mik-taut'ak	.	ib.
bunch of cords and the tips of	..	..	
birds' bills	..	..	
Instruments for cutting ivory	..	..	Kaigne-noo-strāk	.	ib.
Iron	..	..	Tsha-wek	.	ib.

English Names.			Esquimaux Names.		
Instrument for cutting stone arrow			} Keg-lee-chea . . .	B.	
heads	..	..	
Island, an	..	..	Tudra . . .	ib.	
Jar, a	..	..	Koo-loot-za . . .	ib.	
earthen	..	..	Ig-hu-nee . . .	ib.	
Ivory head carved	..	..	Nee-wach-toon . . .	C.	
Kettle, a	..	..	Im-mi-ruk . . .	ib.	
Kid, to contain water	..	..	Mizo-ghau . . .	B.	
Kid, to contain oil	..	..	Kottoo-ack . . .	B.	
Knife, Esquimaux	..	..	Seque-tat . . .	ib.	
other	..	..	Pe-yar-tuk . . .	ib.	
of stone	..	..	See-goo-tât . . .	C.	
native, of iron	..	..	{ Sha-mang-me . . . Tsbau-ung-mun . . . Tsha-moon . . .	} ib.	
carved for scooping	..	..	
European	..	..	
pen	..	..	Mid-del-lik . . .	ib.	
pen	..	..	Tshawek . . .	ib.	
pen	..	..	Pen-ne-yok-ta . . .	ib.	
Know (I don't)	..	..	Ny-loo-gah . . .	O.	
Labret (lip ornament, and hole			} Too-tuk, Poo-tuk . . .	C.	
for ditto)	..	..	
Ladle, a	..	..	Poo-tauk (w)		
	..	..	Imôo-once . . .	B.	
Lake (colour)	..	..	{ Ang-a-ook, Keg-mung- nak . . .	C.	
Land, or earth opposed to sea	..	..	
Land	..	..	Tee-drak . . .	ib.	
Laugh, to	..	..	I-glak-tok . . .	ib.	
Lead	..	..	Koo-ou-sow-tik . . .	B.	
Leap, to	..	..	Ach-rak-tyak-took . . .	C.	
Lag	..	..	Ka-nuck . . .	O.	
Lachen	..	..	Ee-buch-au-rit . . .	B.	
Lip, upper	..	..	Kok-luk . . .	B.	
ornament	..	..	Too-otucka . . .	ib.	
lower	..	..	Kak-ker-luk . . .	C.	
Lobster	..	..	Poo-tchu-o-tuk . . .	B.	
Look, to	..	..	Te-eg-loo-gook . . .	C.	
at a thing	..	..	Teed-la-book . . .	B.	
Looking-glass	..	..	Tak-a-toon . . .	ib.	
Lost, something	..	..	Oo-mai-toon . . .	C.	

English Names.			Esquimaux Names.		
Maul (a wooden)	..	..	Kad-roo-tock	.	B.
Mallet, wooden	..	..	Ka-di-oo-tak, and ka-oon	.	C.
Man, a	..	..	Tuák	.	ib.
Many (a great many) (a general superlative)	..	..	Minna minna	.	ib.
A long way off	..	..		.
Many in number			Ko-lug-na, Ta-maum	.	ib.
Marline-spike, small	..	..	Ke-poot-tak	.	ib.
of ivory, forlacing bows	..	..		.
Martin (as carved)	..	..	Ama-rok	.	ib.
Match, a, of a cottony or woolly nature	..	..	Ee-goo-rit	.	C.
	
Mast, ship's	..	..	Nake-puk-tuk	.	ib.
Mast, boat's	..	..	Doo-bak-ti	.	B.
Mirror, a	..	..	Kaing-nee-gaun	.	C.
Moon, the	..	..	Tak-kuk	.	ib.
his name	..	..	Tad-kuck	.	B.
More	..	..	Tshau-loc	.	C.
Mountain	..	..	Mug-wee	.	ib.
			Magoo-Magoo	.	C.
Mouse and skin	..	..	Au-ing-nyak	.	C.
Mouth, the	..	..	Kuck-a-luk, ka-klook	}	ib.
			Kai-nee-ak (w)		
			Kan-nuck		O.
Mouse	..	..	Kööblá-öök	.	B.
Musk-ox	..	..	Moong-mak	.	ib.
ditto	..	..	Oo-ming-mi	.	C.
Musk-rat	..	..	Paoona ?	.	B.
			Kec-boo-gal-lok	.	C.
			Kee-boo-wal-luk	.	
Musket, a	..	..	Tshoo-poou	.	ib.
ditto	..	..	Tsou-kodt	.	B.
Nail, an iron	..	..	Ke ² -ke ¹ -ak	.	C.
			Tse-dōō-äck	.	B.
Narwhal	..	..	Kang-oot-tsitka, koom-oot-tsia	.	C.
Neck	..	..		.
Near	..	..	I-muckt	.	B.
Needle sewing, of wire	..	..	Mik-koon ²⁵ and ²⁷	.	C.
			mek-koon (w)	.	

English Names.	Esquimaux Names.	
Needle-case ivory .. for making nets ..	Mik-kun-mik . . C. Lew-wi-law-tik . . ib.	
Net, a .. a different sort .. large, for seals ..	Nee-gal-lik . . C. Korak, aka-loo-na . . ib. Koo-brak . . ib.	
No ..	{ Naga, Nau-me . . } C. Tuum, Na-u . . } Nāgā, Nā-ō, Aūnga . . B.	
None, I have ..	Peed-lark . . ib.	
None, he has ..	Peed-lo . . ib.	
No more, none ..	Pied-lak ²⁶ and ²⁷ (1) . . C.	
Nose ..	{ Nognuck or Kingar . . B. King-na-ga, king-a-na . . } C. King-nuk (pd) . . }	
Ochre, red ..	Eeta . . ib.	
Oil ..	O'k-tsho'k . . C.	
Otter (as carved) ..	Améo ²⁶ . . ib.	
Otter-skin ..	{ Te-ghē-āk-bōōk . . B. Améok-tok ²⁶ and ²⁷ . . } C. (1) Ami-nak-tok ²⁷ (κ) . . }	
Owl ..	Ignā-zēē-wyūck . . B.	
Paddle ..	{ Par-hud-duc . . ib. Par-hua-uk . . C. Aan nuch ²⁶ , Aug-noon ²⁷ . . ib.	
Paddle, to ..	{ Hang-noon (w) . . ib. Ang-oo-tik . . ib.	
Pelican (print of a) ..	Pe-bli-ark-took . . B.	
Pig ..	At-kah . . O.	
Platt ..	Peez-liar-uk . . B.	
Plover, the golden ..	Tood-glict . . ib.	
ditto ..	{ Too-lik ²⁶ and ²⁷ . . Tood-lik ²⁷ . . } C.	
Plumbago, black lead ..	Mign-noōn . . ib.	
Porcupine, a ..	I-gla-koo-suk . . B.	
Porpoise, a ..	Aghi-bee-zee-ak . . ib.	
Posts over yourts ..	{ Ai-ye . . C.	
supporting sledges ..	Eg ^x gun . . ib.	
Pot, earthen, of natives ..		

English Names.	Esquimaux Names.
Pour, to	Eu-koo-i-ruk . . . C.
Prince of Wales, Cape	King-a-gee . . . ib.
Prongs for small darts	A-goot-say . . . B.
Ptarmigan, a	Kau-wik . . . C.
Puffin, a	{ At-pak ²⁷ , Ke ¹ -lu'ng-n'a . . . ib.
	{ Kōōali-nōckt . . . B.
Puffin (red feet of)	Itti-guy-it . . . ib.
Pull out (to turn inside out)	O-li-dju-nauk . . . C.
Pyrites, iron	Ick-nay-äck . . . B.
Quiver and bow case	Pe-tik-sik-tak . . . C.
Rabbits	Noo-poo-i-tak-tuk . . . ib.
Racoon (skin of)	Tsich-rēe-buck . . . B.
Rat, gray-spotted	Tshuch-a-rik, Tshee-ge-rik C.
Raven	Too-loo-ak . . . ib.
Rein-deer	Took-too, Took-too . . . ib.
Rein-deer (as engraved)	Too-too-ak . . . 'ib.
Rein-deer	Tootōōt . . . B.
Right, you are	Ta-mar-dra . . . C.
Ring (for finger)	Nal-loo-i-a . . . ib.
River, or stream	Koo-ück . . . B.
River, a large	Koo-rook . . . C.
River in the Bay of Good Hope	Ma-de-ok . . . ib.
Root	I-koo-tshook . . . ib.
Rope, a	Lich-loo-nat . . . ib.
Run, to	Ak-pa-ruk-tuk . . . ib.
Rurick Rock, or Island	A-hgho-le-a . . . ib.
Sail, a ship's	{ Knagn-nil-bratup ? . . . } ib.
	{ Ten-yet-raw-te-taka ? . . . }
Salmon, fresh	Tee-lang-uk . . . ib.
ditto	I-shalloo-ok . . . B.
Salmon, dried	{ A-kol-loo-ruk ²⁵ and ²⁷ . . . }
	{ A-ral-la-roo-ak . . . } C.
ditto	{ A-dal-gunuk-roo-ak . . . }
	{ I-shalloo-roo-ok . . . B.
Salmon-skins, dried	{ Ka-look-peoit, Ka-loo-
	{ kwit ²⁶ . . . C.
Salmon-skin bag	Ick-pai-ruck . . . B.

English Names.				Esquimaux Names.			
Sand	..	..	..	Koo-wee-a	.	.	ib.
Scar	..	..	..	Kee-lee-ak	.	.	O.
Scrape, to	..	..	..	Kee-lee-ak-tok-tok	.	.	ib.
Scraper of stone for hides	..	..	..	Waing-nee-a	.	.	C.
Scraper of bone	..	..	..	Tsal-loo-ee-ga	.	.	ib.
Scratch, to	..	..	..	Ko-mee-ak-tok	.	.	O.
Sea, or water generally	..	..	..	{ Ee-muk-ka, Ee-mik I wa ⁴ k	.	.	} C.
Sea, the	..	..	..	Tarri-ooke	.	.	B.
Sea-horse	..	..	..	I-week	.	.	O.
Seal, large	..	..	..	Kasi-guak	.	.	B.
Seal	..	..	..	Kasi-gōō-āk	.	.	ib.
ditto	..	..	..	Nik-tsuk, Nik-zak ⁴³ ?	.	.	C.
Seal (a different sort)	..	..	..	Too-wut-ka-roo-a	.	.	ib.
Seal (long and short)	..	..	..	Oo-grook	.	.	ib.
Sew, to	..	..	..	Keydli-ark-too-uk	.	.	B.
Shake (with cold)	..	..	..	Tchoo-look-tak-tok	.	.	O.
Ship or boat	..	..	..	Oo-mee-ak	.	.	B.
Ship, a	..	..	..	Oo-mi-ak	.	.	C.
Sheep, a	..	..	..	La-loo-iga	.	.	ib.
Show it	..	..	..	Tush-e-tush	.	.	B.
Sheep	..	..	..	Olk-sūk	.	.	ib.
Shell (murex)	..	..	..	Na-goo-uk	.	.	ib.
Shell (of fish)	..	..	..	Yeu-wul-luk	.	.	C.
Ship, go on board	..	..	..	Oo-mi-ak-puk	.	.	ib.
Shoe	..	..	..	Pin-e-yuk	.	.	O.
Shoulder, the	..	..	..	Too-ee-dee-a, Too-cek	.	.	C.
Shrew, a	..	..	..	Au-ru-nak	.	.	ib.
Shovel or spade	..	..	..	Noo-oun	.	.	B.
Sing, to	..	..	..	Poo-doo-a-gar	.	.	O.
Skin	..	..	..	A-tuk-tok	.	.	C.
Skin for tambourine	..	..	..	E-red-lark	.	.	B.
Skin of rein-deer used for tents	..	..	..	I-tshik	.	.	C.
Skin (covering of tents)	..	..	..	Kan-nig-it	.	.	B.
Skin of brown squirrels	..	..	..	It-re-ak-pook	.	.	C.
Skin of birds	..	..	..	O-kor-ree	.	.	C.
Skin, shirt of	..	..	..	Iman-nickt	.	.	B.
Skinning an animal (as carved)	..	..	..	Tail-lo, Ach-lak-talli	.	.	C.
Skull of porpoise	..	..	..	See-shuak	.	.	ib.
Sky, the	..	..	..	Keil-yak, Pung-na ⁴⁶	.	.	ib.

English Names.		Esquimaux Names.	
Slate, sharpening	..	Seed-lin	ib.
Slap, to	..	Tee-glu-a-gar	O.
Sleep	..	Chenek-tunga	B.
Sleep, to	..	{ Tshin-ik-tuk-ka ^a Tshung-ek-lunga	C.
Sleep, first		Tsinnya--karbeeta	B.
Sledge, a	..	{ Oo-nyak Ai-yäk	C. B.
Sling, a	..	Igli-ok-took	O.
Smoke	..	Ee-shak	C.
Snake, a (as carved)	..	Malli-goo-i-ak	ib.
Snare for birds	..	Tshe ² -run-nun	ib.
Snipe	..	Nuck-too-o-lit	B.
Son, or my son	..	{ Oo-wing-ee-laka Oo-wing-e ² -loo-eek	C.
Shrimp	..	Nowd-len-nok	B.
Skins of deer made into a blanket	..	Oo-ghe-od-luk	ib.
Spear for whales	..	Ka-poo-ak	C.
Spear, or lance	..	Tank-pook ²⁶	ib.
Spectacles, native	..	Eee-gee-yak?	ib.
ditto	..	Ish-gack	B.
Spoon or ladle	..	{ Obo-wik, Imcom, or Imoon, ali-oo-tack	C. ib.
Spoon	..	Ou-levo-book	B.
Star, a	..	{ O-blo-a-ret Og-bloo-ret	C. B.
Stamp with the foot	..	Kee-meak-tok	O.
Stick, a forked one	..	Kai-week-loo-ek	C.
Squirrel, a	..	Tsëy-kë-rëck	B.
Squirrel, skin-frock	..	Oo-gōō-ar	ib.
Steel for striking fire	..	Iknew ²⁷ -igning	ib.
Stone	..	Kallook-row-rok	ib.
in general	..	Ang-mak	C.
bluish	..	Illi-a-rik	ib.
rounded on beach	..	Och-roo-rak	ib.
for killing of seals	..	Oo-run-nee	ib.
Straightener (a native instrument)	..	Nalla-ro-ik, A-louik	ib.
Strike, to, with a mallet	..	Ka-rok-tok (see to hammer)	
Sun, the	..	{ Bait-tsäach, Maisak, Nei-ya	ib.

English Names.			Esquimaux Names.		
Sun	..	..	Bidsuk, or Bizuck	.	B.
Swan	..	..	Tadi-drökt	.	ib.
Swim, to	..	..	Kalee-ak-shook	.	O.
Swim, rein-deer swimming			Nallook-look	.	C.
Table	..	..	O-goo-luck	.	O.
Tail of an animal worn by some of the men	..	..	Pop-tit	.	C.
Take it	..	..	Mik-ki-krin	.	ib.
Talons of a bird	..	..	Ec-gee-geit	.	ib.
Tambourine	..	..	Kol-laun, Killaun	.	ib.
Tattooing on chin of women	..	..	Took-nauk	.	ib.
			Tabloo ó-tay	.	O.
Tent (as of skins)	..	..	Tie-poö-eet, Topak	.	C.
			Töö-pek		
Tent	..	..	Too-pöte	.	B.
Tooth, a	..	..	Köötay	.	ib.
Teeth, the	..	..	Kau-tit-ka, Kee-wee-dit-ka, Kewk-tect (pd)	.	C.
This, and here take it	..	..	Oona, oona-oona-oona	.	ib.
Thong of thick hide	..	..	Au zoo-nak	.	ib.
Thumb	..	..	Kooble-doóá	.	B.
Thumb, the	..	..	Tamar-doot-ka (pd)	.	C.
			Koo-boo-lo, koo-bloo-a		
Thumb, nail of	..	..	Koo-gay	.	B.
Tobacco	..	..	Tau-wāk	.	ib.
Tobacco	..	..	Tau-wap	.	C.
culling for	..	..	Tau-wak-i-rim-mik	.	ib.
Tobacco-pipe	..	..	Nuk-kak ²⁷ , Och-whait ²⁸	.	ib.
Wife, old (a fish)	..	..	Neet-ar-muck	.	B.
Toe, great	..	..	Woo-doo-ah (w)	.	C.
little	..	..	In-mee-ga ²	.	ib.
Tool for sharpening stones, arrow-heads, &c.	..	..	Ké-gla	.	ib.
To-morrow	..	..	Ar-hägo	.	B.
Tongue, the	..	..	Oo-wär	.	ib.
Tongue, the	..	..	Oo-kwak-ka, Oo-kwää	.	C.
Tree, or rather shrub (carved)	..	..	A-ning-onung-a	.	ib.
Trousers	..	..	Nellikak-nellikak-kin	.	ib.
of different sorts	..	..	Moo-gwa	.	ib.

English Names.			Esquimaux Names.		
Trowsers, of a particular sort			Kak-a-leek	.	C.
Tusk of walrus	..	..	Tuak	.	ib.
Venison	..	..	Too-toot	.	O.
Volcano (from a drawing of one)			Ar-wōu-ük	.	B.
Vulture	..	..	Keegle-oght	.	ib.
Walk, to	..	..	Pee-shook-tuk	.	C.
Walrus, the	..	..	{ Ai-wik, Ai-wa	.	C.
			{ I-bwuck	.	B.
Wash, to (the hands)	..	..	E-wick-tok	.	O.
Water or sea	..	..	Ee-muk-ka, Ee-mik	.	C.
fresh	..	..	Ee-mik-kook	.	ib.
ditto	..	..	E-mik	.	B.
ditto	..	..	{ Imung-yak-toke	.	ib.
			{ Tschu-dooat	.	ib.
Water, salt	..	..	Tarre-oke	.	ib.
Wave, a	..	..	Ky-öl-sò-root	.	fb.
Whale, the	..	..	{ Ah-hōw-loo	.	ib.
			{ A-ru-ak, A-whee-beek	.	C.
Whale-bone	..	..	Tsock-kōyt	.	B.
Whale-line	..	..	Unga-shark	.	ib.
What is it, or its name	..	..	Sooua-goona	.	C.
White cloth	..	..	Kow-look	.	ib.
Whistle, to	..	..	Oo-wing-nak-tok	.	ib.
Wing, a bird's	..	..	Ee-sa-gweh	.	ib.
Wolf, the (engraved)	..	..	A-ma-ok	.	ib.
Woman, a young	..	..	Kang-neen	.	ib.
(generally)	..	..	Oo-leě-a	.	ib.
Woman, or female (generally)			Oōng-na	.	B.
Wrist	..	..	Taor-nōw-tik	.	ib.
Wind	..	..	Anoog-way	.	B.
Wood	..	..	Oo-māk-se-lāk	.	ib.
(drift on beach)	..	..	Oo-nak-sih	.	C.
Wood, log of	..	..	Kai-doo-ik	.	ib.
(general term)	..	..	Ta-gnit, Kei-yu	.	ib.
Wound, a small	..	..	{ Killi-ak-toch	.	ib.
			{ Killi-ak-toch-pep-pin	.	ib.
Whiskers	..	..	Oōmg-yāy	.	B.

English Names.				Esquimaux Names.			
Yes	..	..	..	A ²	.	.	C.
Yourt (as carved)	..	..	..	Shi-rak	.	.	ib.
Yellow colour	..	..	..	Tshong-ak	.	.	ib.
Yellow (bird ?)	..	..	..	Pook-taun	.	.	ib.

NUMERALS.

One	..	..	..	{ A-dow-wēet-sesūng-neek . B.			
				{ Te'-ga ² -ra ² , a-dai-tsuk . C.			
Two	..	..	..	{ Ma-loy-sesungnek . B.			
				{ Mil-lei-tsung-net . } C.			
Three	..	..	..	{ Ee-pāk ? Adri-gak ?			
				{ Ping-hēt-see sūngnek . B.			
				{ Pin-get-tsook ? .			
				{ Pin-ge-yook . } C.			
Four	..	..	..	{ Pin-get-tsa-tsung-net			
				{ Setūmní-sūngnak . B.			
				{ Tse-tum-mat . } C.			
Five	..	..	..	{ Sé-tum e ² t .			
				{ Ta-leěma . B.			
Six	..	..	..	{ Tad-glé-mat, Adreyeet . C.			
				{ Ark-būnna . B.			
				{ Agh-win-nak . } C.			
Seven	..	..	..	{ Ak-ka-oo in-el-get .			
				{ Ait-pā . B.			
				{ Ach-win-nigh-i-pagh-a . } C.			
Eight	..	..	..	{ Mulla-roo-nik, Bo ² l-ruk			
				{ Pena-yūa . B.			
				{ Pen-ni-yoo-ik . } C.			
Nine	..	..	..	{ Pé-ge ² s-se ² t .			
				{ See-tūmna . B.			
				{ Tee-i-dim-mik ? . C.			
Ten	..	..	..	{ Tād-leěma . B.			
				{ Kó-lit ² (R) . C.			

NAUTICAL REMARKS.

PASSAGE FROM TENERIFFE TO RIO JANEIRO.

June 5 to July 11.

In June, 1825, His Majesty's ships Wellesley and Bramble sailed from Santa Cruz for Rio Janeiro, and three days afterwards the Blossom departed for the same place. About the same time the packet, the Hellespont, and another merchant vessel made the passage from England. The Bramble crossed the equator in 18° W., the Wellesley in 25° W., the packet in $29\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ W., the Blossom in 30° W., the Hellespont in 32° W., and the merchant brig, of which I shall speak presently, in 39° W. The Hellespont, which sailed indifferently, was forty-six days, the packet forty-six days, the Blossom thirty-six, the Wellesley forty-five, and the Bramble forty-eight days. Thus, making a reasonable allowance for the difference between England and Teneriffe, the Hellespont made the best passage, the packet and Blossom next, the Wellesley next, and the Bramble the worst; by which it appears that in proportion as the vessels were to the westward the passages were shortened. The merchant brig, however, was too far to the westward, as she could not weather Cape St. Roque, and, like the King George, Indiaman, she was obliged to stand back to the variable winds to regain her casting, so that her passage occupied a hundred and ten days!

This passage is so frequently made, that remarks upon it might be thought almost superfluous; but I am not disposed to undervalue this sort of information, which is in general too much neglected. There is no doubt that the route from England to Rio Janeiro ought to be varied according to the time of the year; for even in the Atlantic the trade-winds are affected by monsoons, and it is only by a long series of observations that we can ascertain at what time of the year it is advisable to cross the equator in any particular longitude. The

journals of the packets for one year would afford valuable information on the subject. In the passage of the Blossom we carried the N.E. trade from Teneriffe to 8° N., and met the S.E. wind in $5^{\circ} 30'$ N. and $25^{\circ} 50'$ W., which carried us to Cape Frio. The trades were steady, and in the northern hemisphere fresh.

From the time of leaving Teneriffe until we lost the N.E. trade, the current set S. 54° W. 115 miles in ten days, or at the rate of $11\frac{1}{2}$ miles per day. With the change of wind occurred an immediate alteration in the direction of the current, and the next twenty-four hours we were set N. 86° E. twenty-three miles. The meeting of the currents was marked by a rippling of the water, which could be seen at a considerable distance. The four succeeding days the current ran between S. 15° E. and S. 89° E. at the average rate of thirteen miles per day. During this time we changed our position from $7^{\circ} 21'$ N. latitude, and longitude $26^{\circ} 58'$ W. to $3^{\circ} 56'$ N., and $26^{\circ} 44'$ W., and had had the S.E. trade one day. We now got into a strong N.W. current, which ran between N. 58° W. and N. 72° W. at an average rate of twenty-two and a half miles per day, until we made Fernando Noronha.

From Fernando Noronha the current changed its direction, and ran between S. 78° W. and S. 21° W. at an average of twenty-seven miles per day, until a hundred miles due E. of Cape Ledo. We stood on the southward; and as we neared the land about Cape Augustine the velocity of the current abated, and our daily error was reduced to seven miles S. 52° W.; but as we drew off the land, still continuing to the southward, the current again increased, and became variable. The first hundred miles from Cape Augustine it ran S. 87° W. twenty six miles; the next due S. twenty-seven miles; the following S. 76° W. twenty-one miles, and then S. 80° W. eleven miles, until our arrival off Cape Frio, when the whole amount of current from Teneriffe was two hundred and seventy-four miles S. 57° W.

From this it appears that the N.E. trades propelled the waters in a S.W. by W. direction, at the rate of eleven and a half miles per diem*; and the S.E. trades to the W.N.W.,

* All the rates are averages.

with double the velocity, or twenty-two and a half miles per day* ; and that in the intermediate space, where light variable winds prevailed, there obtained a strong current, which ran in a contrary direction to both these, at the rate of thirteen miles per day.

It appears from numerous observations that in both hemispheres the rate of the current is accelerated on approaching the Gulf of Mexico ; and as my route was rather more to the westward than that usually pursued, the above-mentioned average rates are greater, probably, than will be experienced under ordinary circumstances.

REMARKS ON THE PASSAGE FROM RIO DE JANEIRO ROUND
CAPE HORN TO CONCEPTION.

August 15 to October 8.

This passage was unusually long, owing to the prevalence of contrary winds, particularly in the vicinity of the River Plate. We sailed from Rio de Janeiro on the night of the 15th August, with a westerly wind, the Corcovado and Sugar Loaf capped with clouds. On the 16th, the wind shifted to the eastward ; and towards night a gale suddenly arose, accompanied with thunder and lightning. The flashes of lightning passed frequently between the masts ; and latterly the electrical fluid settled upon the mast-heads and topsail-yard-arms, and remained there for fifteen minutes. We had been warned of the approach of this storm by the appearance of the sky and a few flashes of lightning, and reduced our sail in time, otherwise it might have done much mischief from the suddenness and violence with which it commenced. This breeze went round to N. and N.W. to W. by S., then to S.E., S.S.W., N.W., southerly again, and S.E., E., and S. by W., until the 25th, the weather being gloomy, and the winds light or of moderate strength.

On the 25th, in latitude 36° and longitude 48° W., we encountered the first pampero, which came on with a heavy squall from S.S.W. attended with rain. For nine days we had these winds ; during which time we could seldom carry

* All the rates are averages.

more than the main topsail, in consequence of the violence of the squalls. At the commencement of this bad weather, the squalls were harder and more frequent than towards its termination, and were accompanied with rain, hail, and sleet. Towards the close of it the general strength of the wind was increased, but the violence of the squalls was comparatively moderate, and the intervals longer. Still these gusts of wind gave no warning, and indeed during the whole period, excepting in the squalls, there was a clear blue sky, and apparently fine weather. From the commencement of these pamperos to their termination we had a reduction of nineteen degrees in the temperature of the air, and of fifteen in the surface of the sea. The remarks of Captain Heywood in Captain Horsburg's "Directory," a valuable book, and well known in the navy, will be found very useful in anticipating these squalls.

To these pamperos succeeded a calm, then light and moderate breezes from N.W., E.N.E., N., E.N.E., S.W., S.E. with cloudy weather, until in latitude 48° S. and longitude 51° W., when we fell in with a W.N.W. wind, which the next day carried us into soundings off the Falkland Islands. As we neared the land, the wind died away. The barometer was low, standing at 28.6, and the weather was misty, with drizzling rain at times. About one o'clock P.M. on the 9th September, the mist began to disperse, and a bright yellow sky was seen under ~~an~~ arch to the S.W.; the wind at the same time inclined that way, and in less than an hour we were under close-reefed topsails and ~~storm~~ staysails. This gale lasted about eighteen hours, and then veered to W. by N. and W., with which we advanced to the parallel of Cape St. John. Here we encountered strong S.W. winds with long heavy seas, and stretched to the southward to $58^{\circ} 02'$ S., regretting that we had not passed inside the Falkland Islands, as in that case we should have been nearly a day's run further to the westward before we encountered these adverse winds. After two days the wind veered to S.S.W. and blew hard, but the sea was not high. We now stood to the N.W., and on the 17th in latitude $56^{\circ} 21'$ S. and longitude $61^{\circ} 51'$ W., we had a few hours' calm. This was succeeded by a breeze from

the southward, which continued moderate with fine weather and a smooth sea; and the next day, having carried us on hundred and twenty-three miles, we made Cape Horn, fourteen miles distant on the lee-beam, bearing N. 2° W., true the wind still from the southward.

Between Cape Horn and Diego Ramirez we had sounding with forty-five fathoms rock, and sixty fathoms sand; and afterwards from eighty-four to sixty fathoms gravel, coarse and fine sand, and some coral. That night we passed to the northward of Diego Ramirez at nine miles distant, not having less than sixty-six fathoms on a bottom of coarse sand. The following morning the island of Ildefonso bore N. 5° W., true, nine miles, and we had seventy-three fathoms fine sand; and at noon Yorkminster, at the entrance of Christmas Sound, bore N. 37° E., true, nineteen miles, eighty-two fathoms coral and stones. Not liking to range the shore of Terra del Fuego so close during the night with a southerly wind, we tacked; and with the wind still at S.S.W. stood for thirty-six hours to the S.E. into the meridian of Diego Ramirez; and when thirty-six miles S. of it, we again kept W. by S., with the wind at S. by W. We stood on, and had light winds, fine weather, and a smooth sea until the 24th, when there was a calm for twelve hours, with a little swell from N.E. On the 25th early, we got a north-easterly wind, which commenced with fine weather and smooth water; and at noon, on the 26th, carried us to the 79th meridian and 53d parallel of latitude, when we considered ourselves round the Horn. In this situation we were one hundred and forty-three miles due west of Cape Pillar; having numbered exactly fourteen days from the time at which we were a hundred miles due east of Staten Land. We passed Cape Horn on one Sunday, and on the following crossed the meridian of Cape Pillar. Our greatest south latitude in the whole passage was 58° 02' S. The gales of wind which we experienced were attended with a long swell, that by no means strained the ship, and we did not see a particle of floating ice.

Having reached the meridian of 82° W., there appears to be no difficulty in making the remainder of the passage to

Conception or Valparaiso. In high latitudes the prevailing winds are from W.N.W. to S.W., which are, at worst, leading winds. In latitude $44^{\circ} 16'$ S. and longitude $78^{\circ} 36'$ W. we got S.E. winds, which, with a few hours' intermission of wind from N.E. by E., brought us to Conception on the tenth day from that on which we considered ourselves fairly round the Horn. Some officers are of opinion that near the coast of Chiloe moderate weather and southerly winds are more prevalent than in the offing, which I think highly probable; and if, after reaching the 81st meridian, the winds came from N.W., I should certainly prefer the in-shore track to stretching again to the S.W.

With regard to the best time of the year for rounding Cape Horn, there is a great difference of opinion, as in the same months both good and bad passages have been made; but I should certainly not select the winter time if I had my choice. Independent of the cold, which, during gales of wind, is severely felt by a ship's company necessarily wet and exposed, and the probability of meeting with floating islands of ice, surely the long nights, as Captain Hall has justly observed, must augment in a serious degree the difficulties of the navigation.

From the passage of the Blossom, a preference might be given to the month of September; but in the very same month Captain Falcon in the Tyne had a very long and boisterous passage. I concur in opinion with Cook, Perouse, Krusenstern, and others, in thinking there is no necessity whatever for going far to the Southward, and I should always recommend standing on that tack which gained most longitude, without paying any regard to latitude, further than taking care to keep south (say a degree) of Cape Horn. With a N.W. wind I would stand S.W., and with a S.W. wind N.W., and so on. If there was a doubt, I should give the preference to the southern tack, unless far advanced in that direction. We did not find the strongest winds near the land, but on the contrary; and I am of opinion that here, as is the case in many other places, they do not blow home, and that within thirty miles of the land the sea is partly broken

by the inequality of the bottom. There is, however, great objection to nearing the land eastward of Cape Horn, in consequence of the velocity with which the current sets through Strait Le Maire, particularly with a southerly wind. This does not obtain to the westward of Diego Ramirez, in which direction I see no objection to approaching the coast within forty or sixty miles. Cook ranged this shore very close in December, and on more than one occasion found the current setting off shore, and at other times slowly along it to the S.E.

In the first part of this passage the currents ran to N.W., but after passing the latitude of 40° S. they set to the eastward; and when we arrived off Cape Horn the ship was S. 40° E. 116 miles of her reckoning.

While we were in the neighbourhood of Diego Ramirez there was little or no current, but to the westward it ran to the W.N.W. It however, soon after changed, and on our arrival off Conception the whole amount of current was N. 49° E. 147 miles. In rounding Terra del Fuego with a southerly wind full four points must be allowed for variation and current. For in this high latitude there will, in most ships, be found ten or twelve degrees more variation with the head west than east; and though the true variation be but 24° E., at least 29° or 30° must be allowed going westward.

We found the barometer in this passage an invaluable instrument: upon no occasion did it deceive us. In passing these latitudes my attention was drawn to the changes in the temperature of the water, which I usually found to precede a shift of wind from south to north, and vice versa, even before that of the temperature of the air. I subjoin a short statement of these changes, for the satisfaction of such as may feel interested in them.

On the 29th of August, at eight A.M. the temperature of the surface was 58° , the weather moderate and cloudy, and the wind W. N.W.; from this time to midnight it gradually fell until it stood at 48° . The wind now increased, and the next morning shifted to S.W. and S.S.W., and blew fresh gales: the breeze continuing, on the 31st the temperature of the surface underwent a further fall of $3\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$; and we had hard squalls,

with hail and sleet. It afterwards fluctuated four days between 46° and $49\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, during which time the winds were variable from S.S.W. to N.W. by N., and E.N.E.—the weather for the most part moderate and cloudy; but on the 5th (Sept.) the temperature (always alluding to that of the surface of the sea) rose to 53° , and the wind came from N.E. by N. and N., but light. The next day it shifted to S.E. by S., and the temperature rather decreased, but the breezes were light. On the afternoon of the 7th, after a calm, during which it remained at 50° , there was a decrease of 8° ; and thirty-six hours after a gale from S. by E. suddenly arose. During the five following days it was nearly stationary, at the temperature of $39\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and the wind was variable from W.N.W., S.W., and W. blowing hard. From noon on the 12th to four A.M. on the 13th it fell to 36° , and that night we had a gale at W. by S.; which continued all the next day. At night there was a further decrease of 4° , when the wind veered to S. by W., and blew strong gales. The temperature kept down at 35° until midnight of the 15th, when it rose 5° : and the 16th, at four A.M., the wind changed to W.N.W. and N.W. by W. The temperature, however, soon decreased again 4° , and at nine A.M., the following day, the wind came from S.W. by S. and S.S.E. where it continued, and the temperature remained nearly stationary until we made Cape Horn, when it rose to 42° .

It would, perhaps, be too hazardous to assert upon such short experience that these changes are the forerunners of shifts of wind, though I found similar variations attend the southerly gales off Spitzbergen, where we had always indication of their approach by the increase of the temperature of the sea.* I am, however, persuaded that, like the barometer, it speaks a language which, though at times not the most intelligible, may nevertheless often prove useful.

* See also vol. I. p. 324 of this work.

HOME PASSAGE FROM COQUIMBO TO RIO JANEIRO.

June 3d to July 21st, 1828.

This passage was considerably lengthened by not getting to the westward in low latitudes. From the time of leaving Coquimbo there was a difficulty in making progress in that direction, and we could scarcely weather Massa Fuera. From here the weather became boisterous, the breeze generally beginning at W.N.W., and ending in a moderate gale at S.W.; then backing again, and in the course of the twenty-four hours finishing at S. W., blowing hard, as usual; so that what distance was gained to the westward in the early part of the day was lost toward the close of it. In this manner we were driven down upon the coast, and obliged to stand to the westward, when, had we been a hundred miles further off shore, we should have had a fair wind. On the 22d June we had an easterly wind, which veered to S.E., and drove us away to the latitude $56^{\circ} 18'$ S. and longitude 75° W., when we encountered S. by E. winds, which carried us past Cape Horn on the 30th. Our winds were now fair; but off the Falkland Islands they were variable, until they settled in the E.S.E. quarter. With this we advanced to 35° N., when we encountered N.E. and N.W. gales, with heavy cross seas, and then several pamperos, which were attended by vivid lightning. We afterwards made progress to the northward, and arrived at Rio Janeiro on the 21st July.

In this passage, which was made in the depth of winter, the greatest cold was 21° . From Cape Horn to the Falkland Islands we had thick showers of snow, and had we been bound the opposite way, I have no doubt we should have felt the weather severely. The barometer, as on the former occasion, proved an invaluable monitor. From the time we quitted Massa Fuera until we were off Staten Land, the winds were advantageous for making the passage to the Pacific, and so far they favour the opinion of the winter time being the most desirable for this purpose. The current in

this passage ran to the south-east to the latitude 46° S., then north two days, and from 48° to 57° S., between N.W. and S.W., at the rate of thirteen miles a day. From 57° S. and long. 68° W., they ran to the N.E., until we had passed the Cape; and then westerly and north-westerly to the Falkland Islands. Off the River Plate they ran to the S.W. and S. On our arrival at Rio Janeiro the whole effect of the current from Coquimbo was S. 62° W. eighty-two miles.

From the experience of these two passages round the Horn, I am of opinion that a ship bound to the Pacific should pass inside the Falkland Islands, and round Staten Land, as closely as possible; as she will most likely encounter S.W. winds directly the Pacific is open. A north-west wind off the Falklands will, I think, generally veer to W. and S.W. on approaching Staten Land. With S.W. winds off Staten Land, nothing is left of course but to stand to the southward. I should not, however, recommend keeping this board longer than to get an offing, except westing was to be made by it; and if not, I would go about directly a mile of longitude was to be gained on the in-shore tack; avoiding, however, a near approach to Terra del Fuego, eastward of Cape Horn, on account of the north-east set through Strait Le Maire, with southerly winds. I see no good reason for going to a high southern latitude, if it can be avoided without loss of longitude. With regard to the fact, that gales of wind are stronger near the land, I own I cannot concur in such an opinion. On a comparison of the Blossom's passage out with that of a brig commanded by a Lieutenant Parker, which rounded the Horn at the same time, it appeared that whilst she was experiencing strong winds and heavy seas, which washed away some of her boats, the Blossom, close in with the land, had fine moderate weather, and no other indication of the gales the Hellespont was encountering than by a long southerly swell setting upon the shore; and that the Blossom had the advantage of a westerly current, while the brig was put back twenty miles daily by one in the opposite direction.

When clear of Terra del Fuego, I should recommend stretching to the westward as far as the meridian of 82° or 83° , about the parallel of Cape Pillar, before shaping a course along the coast of Chili.

From Chili to the Atlantic ships should pass outside Massa Fuera, and if opportunity offered, get as far west as 85° or 90° , in order that the south-westerly winds, which they will afterwards be certain to meet, and generally blowing strong, may be turned to advantage. I would even recommend keeping to the westward of 83° until past the parallel of 53° S. This precaution appears to be the only one necessary, as the remainder of the passage from that situation is in general very easily performed. With regard to passing inside or outside the Falkland Islands, I think the latter preferable, especially in winter, as the winds sometimes hang in the eastern quarter at that period, and are apt to run a ship in with the River Plate.

From the Falkland Islands to Rio Janeiro the winds are very uncertain. Ships may, however, generally reckon upon encountering at least one pampero between 33° and 37° N.,* and on meeting with northerly or north-north-easterly winds, when within two hundred or three hundred miles of Cape Frio. It is better, in the latter instance, to stand out to the eastward in preference to the other tack, as it will almost always happen that they will there meet an easterly wind to carry them up to the Cape. It has been found very difficult to get up near the shore from Ila Grande and St. Catherine's.

* These winds appear to be of frequent occurrence off the River Plate; they are generally preceded by strong N.W. winds, and a low altitude of the barometer. Care is necessary to avoid being taken aback by the wind shifting suddenly to the S.W., which it sometimes does after a heavy squall. In deep laden ships it would be prudent to lie to with the head to the N.E., as they would then bow the sea, which often runs very high on the shift of wind; whereas on the other tack they would have their stern exposed to it.

PASSAGE FROM VALPARAISO TO OTAHEITE.

November 4th to March 18th.

This was made in the summer, when the trade-wind extends further south than at other times of the year; otherwise it would be advisable to get into a lower latitude than that in which our course was directed. The winds with us were very variable, but always fair. I know nothing worthy of remark here except the current, which, on our arrival at Elizabeth Island, was found to have set the ship three hundred and forty-nine miles to the westward in thirty-nine days, or at the rate of 8.95 miles per day.

Our route from Elizabeth Island was directed to each of the islands lying between it and Otaheite, and we afterwards met with too many interruptions to estimate the rate of the currents; but at this time of the year in particular, there does not appear to be much in any direction. At other times, however, I am told that there is great difficulty in getting to windward. In this sea the westerly monsoon, which sometimes extends as far as these islands, checks the regularity of the trade-wind, and it is not uncommon at such times to meet a westerly wind with heavy rain. This is liable to occur from December to February or March. The trade-wind in this route in general hangs more to the eastward than the S.E. trade in the Atlantic.

REMARKS ON THE PASSAGE FROM THE SOCIETY GROUP TO
THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.*April 26th to May 18th.*

In making the passage from the Society Group to the Sandwich Islands, the time of the year should be considered. Between the months of April and October the trade-wind is said to hang more to the eastward than at other times, and is consequently favourable to the passage; but it is advisable even at that season to cross the line well to windward, if possible between 145° and 148°, as all that is gained in that di-

rection will ultimately be of use. Between December and April a more northerly trade may be expected, and consequently easting is of more consequence. The S.E. trade is not as regular as that to the northward of the Equator. It generally blows at E. or E.N.E., and when the sun is to the southward of the equator it is sometimes interrupted by N. and N. W. winds. These should be taken advantage of in order to get to the eastward, even at the expense of a few miles of latitude, until well advanced to the northward, and until the N.E. trade is fallen in with.

The Blossom left Otaheite on the 26th of April, 1826, and crossed the equator on the 9th of May in long. $150^{\circ} 01' W$. From the time of sailing the winds were light from the E. and E. N. E., but sometimes veered to N. E. and N.; with these we tacked and endeavoured to gain easting, but did not succeed as we wished. We kept the easterly wind to the lat. of $4^{\circ} N$. and long. $149^{\circ} 47' W$., when the N.E. trade met us; it commenced with hard squalls and rain at N.E. by E., at which point it continued with scarcely any variation; and we had as much wind as would allow us to carry, conveniently, courses and double-reefed topsails, and latterly topgallant sails, until we made Owyhee on the 18th, about forty miles due west of us. We now felt the advantage of being well to windward, and keeping the same distance in order to ensure the sea breeze throughout the night, made Mowee the following morning, and the same night arrived close off Diamond Point (Woahoo).

The current from Otaheite to the equator set to the W.N.W. from ten to thirty miles per day, at an average rate of sixteen and a half miles per day. From the equator to the fourth degree N., when we met the N.E. trade, it ran N.N.E. fifteen to twenty-three miles a day, averaging eighteen miles a day, after which it ceased entirely. On our arrival off Owyhee the current from leaving Otaheite had set N. $54^{\circ} W$. 164 miles, or 7.1 miles per day.

REMARKS ON THE PASSAGE FROM THE SANDWICH ISLANDS
TO AWATSKA BAY, KAMSCHATKA.*June 1st to 28th.*

This passage was very favourable, both in regard to wind and weather, and occupied only twenty-seven days. On quitting Oneehow, instead of keeping within the tropics for the advantage of a fresh trade-wind, I endeavoured to pursue the 30th or 31st parallel down to 191° or 192° W.; and then to avail myself of the westerly winds, said to prevail there, in order to get to the northward.

Quitting Oneehow, I passed to the north-eastward of Bird Island, and the chain of reefs situated near the French Frigate's Bank, and then bore away west. We kept the trade-wind with but one interruption, until in latitude $29^{\circ} 46'$ N. and longitude 185° W., which was on the 10th day of our departure; here the wind veered to the S. and S.S.W., and continued fair three days. On the thirteenth day (June 15th), in lat. 33° N., long. 192° W., it shifted suddenly to N.W. by W. I was now near the situation I had been desirous of reaching, and ready for this wind, but it did not continue; and for five days we were retarded by light winds from all points of the compass, except that quarter. On the 20th June we had a N.E. wind again, which veered to E., S.E., S., and on the 5th day to W. S. W., when it left us in 46° N. and 199° W. An easterly wind succeeded, but, before the twenty-four hours were expired, veered round by S. to W., which, with the exception of a few hours N.N.E. wind, carried us close off the light-house of Awatska Bay on the 28th June.

The weather during this time had been moderate; it had scarcely been necessary to take in top-gallant sails the whole period. It will be seen that, with the exception of three days, we had a leading wind the whole of the way, and that our greatest delay was occasioned by light winds about the parallels of 34° and 35° N. The trade-wind may be said to have attended us as far as 30° N. and 185° W. About the 30th

parallel, a S.S.W. wind brought thick rainy weather with squalls, which was cleared away by a northerly breeze in latitude 34° N. We had now light winds and clear weather, but from the 39^{th} parallel to the day of making the land of Kam-schatka, with the exception of one day in latitude 50° N., we were attended by a thick fog and drizzling rain.

On comparing the route of the Blossom with those of Captains Clerke and Krusenstern, who quitted the Sandwich Islands for St. Peter and St. Paul's, and both of whom, as well as myself, endeavoured to run down the longitude until sufficiently far to the westward to reach the place of destination without inconvenience from westerly winds, it appears that a preference is due to the course pursued by the Blossom. As the three tracks from the parallel of 33° or 34° N. and long. 166° or 168° E. nearly coincided, I shall divide the passage into two parts; the first from the Sandwich Islands to that situation, and the second from thence to the day of making the land of Awatska.*

Captain Clerke ran down his longitude near the northern tropic, lost the trade-wind in lat. 28° N., and long. 172° E., on the twenty-first day of his departure, and reached the above situation on the twenty-sixth day.

Krusenstern kept to the southward of 20° N., lost the trade in 27° N. and about 176° E. on the seventeenth day, and reached the above place on the twenty-second day.

The Blossom kept to the northward of 30° , lost the trade in 30° N. and 175° E. on the tenth day of her departure, and was in the above-mentioned situation on the thirteenth day.

From this situation to the second point or the day of arrival off Awatska, it is remarkable that the three passages are nearly of the same duration, that of Captain Clerke occupying thirteen days; of Krusenstern thirteen; and of the Blossom thirteen and a half. By which it is evident that the advantage was gained by the Blossom in the first part of the passage, and this was not confined to time alone, but extended

* I limit the passages to the time of making the land, as Captain Clerke was five days off the port.

to personal comfort, as the Blossom escaped the heat of a tropical climate, of which Captain King complains so much, and on the whole had better weather.

The currents on the first part of this passage were very irregular, varying their direction from N.N.E. to W.N.W.; the preponderance being in the latter direction, and in one day amounting to thirty-eight miles. After losing the trade-wind we had no current of consequence, excepting on three days in lat. about 35° N. and long. 194° W. during very light winds. On one of these days it ran S. 45° E. forty miles, on another S. six miles, and on the third S. 31° E. nineteen miles. The whole effect of the current between Oneehow and Petrapaulski was N. 25° $30'$ W. fifty-two miles.

FROM AWATSKA BAY TO KOTZEBUE SOUND.

July 5th to 22d, 1826, and July 20th to 5th August, 1827.

After clearing the outer bay, between Cape Gavarea and Chepoonski Noss, in both years we experienced much fog; but it cleared away in the vicinity of the islands of Beering and of St. Lawrence. The weather in both seasons was fine, and we met no impediments from winds until after passing the island of St. Lawrence, and then only for a day. The situation of Beering's Island is now well fixed, and so far it may be approached with safety; but the soundings decrease very fast near the land. Fifty-three miles S.W. by W. from the island we had no bottom with four hundred and twenty fathoms; twenty-seven miles in the same direction no bottom at two hundred fathoms; but at four miles we sounded in sixty fathoms fine dark sand. It is not advisable to stand within two miles of the western shore of this island, as there are breakers and low rocky points projecting from that part of the coast; two miles and a half from these breakers we had only nineteen fathoms dark sand; nor should the southern shore be approached within six miles, on account of Seal Rock, unless the weather be fine. From here I would recommend steering for St. Lawrence Island, in preference to

the main land. Ships will come into soundings of fifty-four fathoms' mud in about the latitude $61^{\circ} 25'$ N. and $175^{\circ} 17'$ W. long., which depth will gradually decrease to thirty-one fathoms, when the bottom will almost immediately change from mud to fine dark sand. Two miles and a half S. 73° W. from the S.W. cape, there are fifteen fathoms; but off the N.W. end of the island there is a shoal upon which there are only nine fathoms, stony bottom, four miles' distance from the land. It is narrow, and the water soon deepens again, and the bottom changes to fine sand as before.

From St. Lawrence Island there appears to be a current running to the northward at the rate of about three quarters of a mile an hour, which increases as the sea narrows towards the Strait of Beering. Ships may pass either side of the Diomed Islands, but they should not run between them, as the passage is not yet explored. Cook passed between the Fair Way Rock and Krusenstern Island, and had deep water; but no person has, as yet, I believe, been between Ratmanoff and the next island. Near these islands the water deepens to twenty-seven and thirty fathoms, and the bottom in some places changes to stones. The channel to the eastward of the Diomed Islands is the widest; and the only precaution necessary is to avoid a dangerous shoal to the northward of Cape Prince of Wales, upon which the water shoals almost immediately from twenty fathoms to four and a half. Its outer edge lies about north (true) from Cape Prince of Wales. From here, ships may run along shore in safety in ten fathoms near the land.

It is unnecessary to give any directions for the sea to the northward of Kotzebue Sound, as the lead is the best guide, remembering that off Cape Krusenstern, Point Hope, and Icy Cape, the water shoals fast, as those places appear to be washed by strong currents.

In this passage there was not much current between Awatska and St. Lawrence Island: it amounted to only thirty-one miles S. 54° W. Off the island it ran S.S.E. seven-eighths per hour on one trial, and on another seven hours afterwards,

N. E. five-eighths per hour; but between this island and Beering's Strait it ran to the north-westward at about three quarters of a mile an hour. To the northward of the Strait it takes a more northerly direction, and near the land runs first to the N.E. and then N.W.

KOTZEBUE SOUND TO CALIFORNIA.

October 14th to 7th November, 1826, and October 6th to 29th, 1827.

These passages were made late in the year, when north-westerly winds prevail, and consequently at a favourable time for getting to the southward. In both years they occupied exactly twenty-three days; and it is further remarkable, that in each, the Aleutian Islands were passed on the ninth day after our departure. The route pursued by the Blossom was to the westward of King's Island, and between St. Lawrence Island and the main-land of America, and thence within sight of St. Paul's and St. George's Islands to the Strait of Oonemak.

To the eastward of King's Island the soundings are very irregular, varying from nine to six fathoms; and as at the season above mentioned the weather appears to be generally bad, it is advisable to go to the westward of the island, where the water is deep. Between St. Lawrence Island and the continent of America there is a bank with eleven fathoms water upon it. If, on approaching it in foggy weather, it be doubtful, from the shoaling of the water, whether it be not the island that is the occasion of the decrease of soundings, haul over to the American shore, and the water will deepen. To the southward of St. Lawrence it is necessary only to mention the islands of St. Paul and St. George, which apparently may be safely approached within four or five miles; but I could not get near them in either year to ascertain what dangers lie close off the shore. In the geographical table I have given the positions of these islands, which were before considered so uncertain that they were not placed on our charts.

I should recommend the passage being always made to the eastward of these islands, as between them and Oonemak there is a strong current from Bristol Bay, which in 1827 drifted the Blossom thirty-five miles to the S.W. in the course of the day. The Strait of Oonemak, lying between the islands of Oonemak and Coogalga, appears at present to be the safest opening to the Pacific from the Kamschatka Sea. The Aleutian Islands in the autumn appear to be enveloped in fog about half-way down, and to have a region of mist lying to windward of the Archipelago, which makes it necessary for a ship to be certain of her position before she attempts any of the channels, as she might be led down so close upon the land in the fog, that she would not have room to rectify a mistake, should she unhappily incur any, which is very likely to happen, from the irregularity and velocity of the currents about the islands. Under these circumstances I should recommend making the north-west end of Oonemak, and afterwards keeping along the coast of that island to the southward. As this island lies forty miles to the northward of the other islands of the chain, Amnak excepted, which is three degrees to the westward, it cannot be mistaken, unless the reckoning of the ship is very incorrect indeed. And by so doing, in the event of not liking to attempt the passage, a vessel will still be far enough to windward, supposing the breeze to be from the northward, to weather the other islands of the chain; and if from the westward, she may reach into Bristol Bay.

We had no opportunity of seeing the summits of either Oonemak or Alaska, which, when clear, are good guides for the strait;* but when the low land of the former can be seen, the south-west point of Oonemak may be known by a pointed rock situated near the base of a remarkable wedge-shaped cliff, conspicuous from the northward and north-westward. The narrowest part of the strait is between this rock and Coogalga Island, and the distance exactly nine miles and a half, in a S. 1° 30' E. (true) direction. In a line between

* See Cook's Third Voyage, vol. II.

these, at the distance of four miles from the rock, there are soundings in thirty fathoms, and I understand that if necessary there is anchorage close under Oonemak.

Coogalga Island is about four miles in length, and may be known by a remarkable peak near its N. E. extremity, in latitude $54^{\circ} 16' 52''$ N., and longitude $164^{\circ} 47' 06''$ W. The variation off it is $20^{\circ} 50'$ E.

From the Aleutian Islands to San Francisco we steered nearly a direct course, with winds generally from the N. W. and W., and made Punta de los Reyes on the 3d November. In this passage the currents were variable. From Beering's Strait to the Aleutian Islands they prevailed to the westward, and near the islands ran strong, but afterwards they continued between S. E. and S. W. On our arrival off California, the whole amount, in 1826, was S. 89° W. sixty-four miles; and in 1827, S. 26° W. forty miles.

REMARKS ON THE PASSAGE FROM MONTEREY (NEW CALIFORNIA) TO WOAHO, SANDWICH ISLANDS.

January 5th to 25th, 1827.

This passage was begun at a period when the north-west and westerly winds are proverbially prevalent upon the coast of New Albion, and extend a considerable distance to the westward.

We sailed from the Bay of Monterey on the 5th January, and immediately took a northerly wind, which carried us into the trades; and we arrived off Mowee on the twentieth day. Our passage might have been considerably shorter, had we not taken a circuitous route in search of some islands reported to lie to the southward, and had sail been carried throughout the twenty-four hours, instead of hauling to the wind as soon as it was dusk, to maintain our position during the night, that nothing might be passed unseen within the limit of our horizon.

As we left the extra tropical latitudes, the atmosphere gradually became more hazy and humid, the clouds increased, and in 18° N. we had some showers of rain. On the 18th, in

latitude $16^{\circ} 18' N.$ and longitude $136^{\circ} W.$, we had a very strong trade at $N. E.$, with squally weather, and a long cross sea from the westward, which was afterwards found to be the effect of a gale of wind in the parallel of $21^{\circ} N.$; but which did not reach us.

There was very little current in this passage; this little generally ran to the southward and westward, and averaged 3.6 miles a day. The barometer, though so far entered in the tropical latitudes, was perceptibly affected by the changes of weather, but maintained its horary oscillations.

On my arrival I found that from the 15th to the 21st there had been very strong gales from the westward at Woahoo, and from the $S. W.$ at Owyhee. This was, no doubt, the cause of the high cross sea we experienced from the 18th to the 23d. I found also that the harbinger, an American brig which quitted Monterey nine days after the Blossom, was obliged to lie to for three days, from the 20th to 23d January, in a strong gale from the $S. W.$ She had steered a direct course for the Sandwich Islands, in which she experienced very variable winds, and, on the whole, had bad weather, and was only one day less performing the passage than ourselves: whence I think it fair to conclude that nothing is lost by running well into the trade. During the winter season, I should recommend ships gaining the 17th parallel before they shaped a direct course for the islands. This seems to me to be the best mode to ensure a good passage and fine weather.

REMARKS ON THE PASSAGE FROM THE SANDWICH ISLANDS
TO MACAO (CHINA).

March 1st to April 10th.

This passage was made at a late period of the season; the north-east monsoon had become very faint, and about the Bashee Islands appeared altogether to have finished.

From Woahoo to the Ladrões the passage occupied twenty-six days; thence to the Bashee Islands twelve days; and from the Bashee to Macao three days; in all forty-one days.

The first part of the run was within the limit of the trade-wind; it hung generally in the eastern quarter, and with the exception of a few days' rain, squalls, and very vivid lightning, in latitude 19° N., and longitude 170° W., the weather was very fine.

Off the Ladrões we had a short calm; then a breeze at north; and made the passage to the Bashees with light and variable winds, first from the northward, and latterly from the S. and S. W. The weather during this period was remarkably fine. Off Formosa we took a strong northerly wind, which carried us to Macao.

The currents from Woahoo to the Ladrões ran generally to the *eastward*, and averaged 6.9 miles per day.

I should recommend to ships making this passage to run down the parallel of $18^{\circ} 30'$ N. or 19° N., taking care of Wake's Island, which is said to lie in latitude $19^{\circ} 18'$ N. They should make the Island of Assumption, in latitude $19^{\circ} 42'$ N., and longitude $214^{\circ} 34'$ W., and pass to the southward of it.

Twelve miles to the southward of Assumption, Captain Freycinet has discovered a reef of rocks, which may be avoided by keeping close to the above-mentioned island. Assumption is a small conical island, 2096 feet high, and apparently without any danger. Prowse anchored in thirty fathoms, within three quarters of a mile of its western shore. The Mangs bear from its eastern point N. $27^{\circ} 07'$ W. (true).

In the N.E. monsoon I would steer from here for the North Bashee Island, and thence pass northward of the Prata Shoal; but with the S.W. monsoon a different route is necessary, for which see Captain Horsburgh's India Directory. The Bashees, Vele Rete, and Botel Tobago Xima, are all very well laid down in Horsburgh's chart; but the Cumbrian Shoal has since been found to lie in the situation first assigned it, fifteen miles due S. of Little Tobago Xima, and in latitude $21^{\circ} 42' 15''$ N. In its vicinity we found very strong rippings, which, when the winds were light, sounded like breakers; but they did not affect our reckoning much, for on the 10th of April, in the forenoon, we made Pedro

Branco, as we expected. This rock is an excellent landmark; by our observation it lies $1^{\circ} 33' 13''$ E. of the west end of the Tupa. Shortly after noon we got sight of the Great Lemma, and that night anchored between Lantao and Chichow.

FROM THE ARZOBISPO ISLANDS TO KAMSCHATKA.

June 16th to July 3d.

At the commencement of this passage it was my endeavour to get nearly into the meridian of Petropaulski before I shaped a course for that place, in order to escape the inconvenience likely to arise from the prevalence of easterly winds, which we unexpectedly encountered the preceding year.

Between the parallels of 30° N. and 35° N. we had light and variable winds, as in our first passage; and in 39° N. took a southerly wind, which continued with a very thick wetting fog, as before, until within a day's sail of Petropaulski, when it veered to the S.W., and soon after came fresh off the land, precisely as it had done the preceding year. In the summer I recommend making the land a little to the southward of Cape Gavarea, as the wind generally blows off shore, and to the eastward of the promontory veers to the northward; and if a vessel is not well in with the Cape, she will find much difficulty in beating up. Until we were in latitude 34° N. longitude 153° E., the currents ran between N.W. and S.W. twelve miles per day; they then changed to S. five miles per day as far as 40° N., and off the Kurile Islands ran strong to the S.E. The weather throughout this passage, with the exception of the fog, was very fine.

FROM SAN FRANCISCO TO SAN BLAS (MEXICO).

December 6th to 21st.

We found no difficulty in getting to the southward, the prevailing wind at this season being from the N.W. It is advisable, however, to stand about forty or fifty leagues off the coast, to avoid interruptions from variable winds which occur

near the land. These winds are in general taken advantage of by vessels bound in the opposite direction to that of our present course.

The weather throughout this passage was remarkably fine. The wind was from W.N.W. to N.N.E. until we made Cape San Lucas, when it veered to E.N.E., and obliged us to pass between the Tres Marias Islands. This route occasioned the loss of a day, and I should advise any vessel making the passage to close the land to the northward of Cape San Lucas, provided the wind were in the north-east quarter; as in addition to the inconvenience which a shift of wind to the E. would occasion, there is another arising from a strong current, which generally sets out of the Gulf of California. From the Cape steer for Isabella Island, and thence for Piedra de Mer.

Between 33° N. and Cape San Lucas we found a current to the westward, and from the Cape to the Tres Marias to the southward. The whole effect of current from San Francisco to these islands was S. 58° W. eighty miles.

SAN BLAS TO ACAPULCO AND VALPARAISO.

March 8th to May 1st, 1828.

At this season north-westerly winds prevail upon the coast between San Blas and Acapulco, inclining toward the land in the day, and to the sea in the night. We passed four miles to westward of Corveteña (a small rock, situated N.W. by N. nineteen miles from Cape Corrientes) without having soundings in eighty fathoms. On the 10th we were within sight of the volcano of Colima, 12,003 feet above the sea, and on the 13th anchored at Acapulco.

At San Blas we heard various opinions upon the best route from Acapulco to Valparaiso, some being in favour of a passage to the eastward of the Gallapagos, by keeping along the land, and carrying the N.W. wind, and others to the westward, by steering at once out to sea. We adopted the latter mode of proceeding; and after light and variable winds, principally from the eastward, crossed the equator in $99^{\circ} 40' W.$,

on the eleventh day of our passage, about ~~two~~ degrees more to the westward than was intended.

After two days' unsettled weather and hard showers of rain, we got the S.E. trade in 3° S. latitude. It at first held to the southward, but, as we proceeded, veered gradually to the eastward, and obliged us to make a long sweep, in which we went as far to the westward as 108° , and having brought us into 23° S. and 106° W. it left us. We had afterwards variable winds and squally weather, and found some difficulty in approaching our destination. At this season very unsettled weather prevails on the coast of Chili, and storms and heavy rains from the northward are by no means unfrequent. It appears to me to be advisable at this period to steer direct for the port, if possible, and to disregard the chances of winds and of currents near the land. The currents in the ~~first~~ part of this passage ran about seven miles a day to the eastward, but from 8° N. and 98° W. to 19° S. and 108° W. they flowed in a S. 88° W. direction, at the average rate of about twenty-eight miles per day, and on our arrival at Valparaiso they had drifted the ship S. 81° W., four hundred and one miles, or at the average rate of eleven and a half miles a day.

On account of these strong currents it is desirable to cross the equator well to the eastward, in about 96° or 97° W., and to pass the latitudes in which they prevail as quickly as possible, by keeping clean full.

RIO JANEIRO TO ENGLAND.

August 5th to September 25th.

This passage was remarkable for strong S.W. winds between the trades. Upon leaving Rio, N.E. winds obliged us to stand to the S.E. to the lat. 27° S. and long. 36° W., where we met the S.E. trade-wind, which carried us across the equator in $24^{\circ} 20'$ W., and left us in 5° N. latitude. It was there succeeded by strong south-west winds, attended by a long swell from the same quarter. This continued to 15° N., and was succeeded by the N.E. trade, which prevailed as far as 27° N. and 35° W. We had here six days calm, and then variable

winds, with much bad weather and long seas from the northward, and did not arrive in England until fifty-one days after our departure from Rio. Had we been farther westward when the N.E. trade failed, the passage would have been shortened, and as at this season N.W. winds prevail on the coast of America, I should endeavour on another occasion to arrive at a more westerly longitude before I outran the trade-wind.

The current in this passage was very different to that which we experienced on the outward voyage, and was no doubt influenced by the strong S.W. winds. From the tropic of Capricorn to the equator it ran N. 88° W. a hundred and fifty-one miles, or ten miles per day, and from that latitude to the termination of the S.E. trade S. 66° W. twenty-five miles a day. Here we encountered the winds from the westward, which, while they lasted, occasioned a current to the eastward at the rate of twenty-six miles a day. With the N.E. trade there was very little in any direction.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE COAST OF CHILI.

CONCEPTION.

During the summer months southerly winds prevail along this coast, and occasion a strong current to the northward. It is advisable, therefore, to make the land well to the southward of the port, unless certain of reaching it before night. Punta Rumena appears to me to be a preferable land-fall to that of Saint Mary's Island, which has been recommended, as it may be seen considerably further, and has no danger lying off it. But should the latter be preferred, it may be known by its contrast to the mainland, in having a flat surface and perpendicular cliffs, as well as by a remarkable peaked rock off its N.W. extremity*. If the port cannot be reached before dark, it would be advisable to bring to the wind, between Saint Mary's and the Paps of Bio Bio, as there will almost always be found a southerly wind in the morning to proceed with. In doing this, take care of the Dormido Bank, lying off the

* This rock bears S. $53^{\circ} 08'$ W. true, from the Look-out Hill, Talcahuana, and is $24' 48''$ W. of it. Its latitude is $32^{\circ} 58' 10''$ S., as found by Mr. Forster.

N.W. end of Saint Mary's. Having daylight to proceed by, close the land near the Paps of Bio Bio, and, keeping one and a half mile from the shore, stand along the coast of Talcahuana Peninsula.

Should the Paps of the Bio Bio be clouded, the land about them may still be known by the opening into Saint Vincent's Bay, and by the land receding in the direction of the Bio Bio river, as well as by high rocks lying off the points. The capes of Saint Vincent's Bay on both sides are high and terminate abruptly, and the south one has a large rock lying some distance off it. The northern cape is tabled, and has a small tuft of trees near its edge. Table land extends from here to Quebra Ollas. The Paps viewed from the westward appear like an island; the wide opening of the Bio Bio being seen to the southward, and Saint Vincent's Bay to the northward. The high rocks off the capes, at the foot of the Paps, are an additional distinguishing mark; and when near enough, the rock of Quebra Ollas will be seen lying off the N.W. end of the peninsula. About one third of the way between Quebra Ollas and Saint Vincent's Bay, there is a large rock called the Sugar Loaf. All this coast is bold, and may be sailed along at a mile and half distance. Quebra Ollas rock lies the farthest off shore, and is distant exactly one mile and a quarter from the cliff; it may be rounded at a quarter of a mile distance, if necessary, but nothing can go within it.

Having passed Quebra Ollas, steer to the eastward, in order to round Pajaros Ninos as closely as possible, and immediately haul to the wind (supposing it from the southward), for a long beat up to the anchorage. There are two passages into Concepcion, but the eastern is the only one in use. On the eastern shore of this channel there is no hidden danger, until near Punta Para and Lirquen, when care must be taken of the Para Reef, the Penco Shoal, and the flat of Roguan. When near the two latter the southern head of Saint Vincent's Bay comes open with Talcahuana Head, it will be time to go round; and it is not advisable *at any time* to open the *northern* cape of Saint Vincent's Bay, distinguished by a tuft of trees upon it, with Talcahuana Head. These two land-

marks a little open, and the pointed rock at the south extremity of Quiriquina a little open with Point Garzos, the N.E. extremity of the peninsula, will put you on a two and a half fathom shoal. There is a safe channel all round this shoal: but ships can have no necessity for going to the southward or eastward of it.

On the Quiriquina side of the channel avoid the Aloe shoal (situated one-sixth of a mile off the first bluff to the northward of the low sandy point), by keeping the north-west bluff of Espinosa ridge open a sail's-breadth (5°) with Talcahuana Head*, and do not stand into the bay between the Aloe shoal and the sandy point. The low sandy point, Punta Arena, may be approached within three hundred yards, after which it is advisable not to shut in Espinosa Bluff with Talcahuana Head, both mentioned before: for although there is a wide channel between the Belen Bank and Fronton Reef (off the south end of Quiriquina), yet, as there are no good cross marks for the shoal, a stranger had better not run the risk, particularly as there will be found ample space to work between this line and the Para Reef. When the hut on Look-out Hill is over the N.W. extremity of Talcahuana village, and the Fort S. Joa bears W. by S. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. the Belen is past†, and the anchorage may be safely approached by a proper attention to the lead. Be careful to avoid drifting down upon the Belen, either in bringing up in squally weather, or in casting; and remember that on approaching it the soundings are no guide, as it has eight fathoms close to it. There is no passage inside the shoal for ships, except in case of urgent necessity. There is no good land-mark for the channel.

Men of war anchor in six or eight fathoms; Fort St. Augustine S. 45° W., true; Fort Galvez, N. 57° W., true; Talcahuana Head, S. $70^{\circ} 30'$ W., true. Merchant vessels usually

* These are two remarkable bluffs situated to the left of Talcahuana, Espinosa being the furthest inland.

† This mark, it must be remembered, carries you well clear of the Belen, and in bringing them on, take care not to shoot too far over toward Talcahuana Head, or to shoal the water on that side to less than five fathoms.

go quite close in shore, between the Shag Rock, a flat rock near the anchorage, and Fort Galvez, and anchor in three or four fathoms; in doing this, until the Shag Rock is passed, keep a *red mark*, which will be seen upon a hill south of Espinosa Ridge, open with Talcahuana Head. A good berth will be found in three fathoms' mud, close off the town; the *eastern* slope of Espinosa Hill in one with Talcahuana Head. At Talcahuana moor open hawse to the north-eastward; but many think this unnecessary, as the holding ground is so excellent, that it is sufficient to steady the ship with a stream.

Should it happen by any accident that ships, after having passed Quebra Ollas, should not be able to weather Pajaros Ninos (supposing the wind to be from the northward), or should be set upon the northern shore of Talcahuana Peninsula, off which lie scattered rocks, they may run through the channel between Quiriquina and the peninsula. In doing this it is safest to keep close over on the island side, but not in less than seven fathoms water. On the opposite shore a reef extends, eastward from the Buey Rock, to the distance of seven or eight hundred yards from the foot of the cliffs; the mark for clearing it is Fort St. Augustine, *open* with all the capes of Talcahuana Peninsula: but this danger will generally show itself, except the water be particularly smooth, as there is a small rock near its outer edge which dries at half tide*.

Having passed the Buey Rock, haul a little to the westward to avoid a reef off the S.W. extremity of Quiriquina, and be careful not to stand into either of the sandy bays of Quiriquina, between this point and the range of cliffs to the northward of it, or towards the peninsula, so as to bring the Buey Rock to bear to the eastward of N., true, until you have advanced full half a mile to southward, when the lead will serve as a guide. If it be found necessary to anchor, haul into Tombez Bay in the peninsula, and bring up in seven or eight fathoms' mud. This is in the northernmost bay, and may be known by several huts and a large storehouse. When through,

* The narrowest distance between this rock and the reef on Quiriquina sides, is exactly half a mile.

give S. and S.W. points of Quiriquina a berth of half a mile, and having passed them, steer over towards Lirquen, until the two heads (Espinosa and Talcahuana) are open; then pursue the directions before given.

If vessels put into Conception for supplies, the anchorage of Talcahuana is unquestionably the best, on account of being near the town; but if wood and water only be required, or if it be for the purpose of avoiding bad weather from the northward, &c., the anchorage under the sandy point of Quiriquina will be found very convenient: it is in many respects better sheltered than Talcahuana, particularly from the northerly, north-westerly, and north-easterly winds. The depth is twelve fathoms, the bottom a blue clay, and the marks for the anchorage south point of Fronton S. $76^{\circ} 20'$ W., true; Punta Arena N. 45° E., true; one-sixth of a mile off shore; the sandy point being shut in with Point Darca, and the south end of Quiriquina in one with a hut which will be seen in a sandy bay in the peninsula. On rounding the sandy point (Punta de Arena), which may be done quite close, clew all up, and the ship will shoot into a good berth. Wood may be procured at the island at a cheaper rate than at Talcahuana, and several streams of water empty themselves into the bay to the northward of the point.

The common supplies of Talcahuana are wood, water, fresh beef, live stock, flour, and a bad sort of coal. We found stock of all kinds dear, and paid the following prices: for a bullock, twenty-nine dollars; sheep, three dollars; fowls, three reals each, or four and a half dollars a dozen; nine dollars per ton for coal, although we dug it ourselves.

It is high water, full and change, at Talcahuana at 3h. 20m.; and the tide rises six feet seven inches; but this is influenced by the winds.

GAMBIER ISLANDS.

This group consists of eight high islands, surrounded by coral islands and reefs, enclosing a lagoon, in which there are several secure anchoring places; but the lagoon has many.

knolls, which render necessary a good look-out from aloft, and even the precaution of keeping a boat ahead. As the islands afford only a supply of water, the anchorage under Mount Duff is the most desirable.

The best channel to enter by lies on the eastern side of the group, to the southward of all the coral islands; and with Mount Duff bearing N. 39° W., true, *in one with the south tangent* of the *easternmost* high island. With these marks steer boldly over the reef, upon which there is in this part six fathoms water, and pass close to the southern extreme of the island, before in one with Mount Duff. Then keeping a boat ahead, proceed under easy sail for the anchorage, about a quarter of a mile south of Mount Duff, the peaks bearing about north, true; but do not attempt to go to the northward, as all that part of the lagoon is full of reefs and knolls. In this situation a ship will be abreast of two streams of good water; but there will be some difficulty in procuring it, on account of the ledges of coral which surround this and all the other islands. As the ground is rocky, it is advisable to use a chain cable. There are several other anchorages, and water may also be had at the north-eastern island, but this appears to me to be, on the whole, the most convenient.

There are also other passages over the reef; and the islands lying to the south-east may be passed on either side, but those which I have recommended are the best and most convenient for navigation with the trade wind. The western channel must not be attempted, and all the south-western part of the group should be avoided as dangerous. The best passage to sail out at bears about S., true, from Mount Duff, the eastern bluffs of Peard Island, upon which Mount Duff is situated, *in one*. This mark will lead over the bar in six and a quarter fathoms. Though this channel lies to leeward of the group, there is generally a very heavy swell upon the reef; and it would not be advisable to attempt it in light winds, as there is no anchoring ground outside; and the swell and the currents, which sometimes run strong, might drift a vessel upon a shallow part of the bar, either to the eastward or westward

of the channel, upon which the sea breaks heavily in four fathoms, and outside which there is no bottom at eighty fathoms, within forty yards of the breakers.

The plan which I have given of these islands must not be considered complete, as such a survey required more examination than I could bestow; and there are, no doubt, many knolls of coral in the lagoon which we did not discover. A careful look-out from aloft is therefore absolutely necessary.

It is high water here at 1h. 50m. full and change; but a current generally sets to the westward in the day-time, and runs strong in the western channel.

OTAHEITE.

In clear weather the mountains of Otaheite may be seen ninety miles from the deck. The ports most frequented are situated on the north side of the island, and may be approached without difficulty when the trade wind is blowing. It, however, sometimes happens in the winter months that the trade is interrupted by breezes from the N.W. and W., and at others that calms and unsettled weather prevail. At such times avoid getting into the bay between Otaheite and Tyraboo, especially on the south-west side of the island, as the swell rolls in heavily upon the shore, and there is no anchorage outside the reefs.

Arrived within a few miles of the north-eastern part of Otaheite, several points covered with cocoa-nut trees will be seen stretching from the foot of the hills. One of these is Point Venus, and may be known by One-tree Hill, which, with the exception of the western extremity of the island, is the last bluff head-land upon this part of the coast.

Matavai Bay, on the south-western side of Point Venus, may be considered a safe anchorage from April to December; but during the remainder of the year the trade is liable to interruptions from westerly winds, which blow directly into Matavai, and occasion a high sea. The protection to the anchorage is afforded by Point Venus and the Dolphin shoal, a coral bank, with only two and a quarter fathoms upon its

shallowest part. Between it and Point Venus there is a channel about fifty yards wide, with 17, 15, and 10 fathoms close to the reef; and by anchoring a boat on the edge of the shoal, a vessel may enter with perfect safety, provided the breeze be fair. It is, however, better to pass to the southward of the bank, which may be ascertained by two remarkable cocoa-nut trees in the E.N.E. being seen, to the southward of an European built house on the beach, bearing E. by N., and haul round it towards the anchorage, taking care not to get to leeward, so as to bring the N.E. bluff of One-tree Hill to bear to the southward of S.E., as there are several coral banks in that direction. Anchor in eight and a half or nine fathoms, mud, off old Pomarre's house, taking care of the reef that lies off that part of the shore.

To the westward of Matavai there are three good harbours, Papawa, Toanoa, and Papiete, of which the latter is the largest and the most frequented. The others, however, are the most healthy. The entrances to all are extremely narrow, and a stranger ought to take on board a pilot; but he should bear in mind that some of the persons who act in that capacity, though well acquainted with the channels, understand very little about navigating a vessel.

Toanoa is four miles west of Matavai, and may be known by a remarkable ragged mountain, which will be seen through a deep valley when abreast of it. When near, this ragged mountain is very conspicuous, and at night it is a good guide to the entrance.

The channel into Toanoa is only three hundred and thirty yards wide; off the eastern side of the passage there is a rock upon which the sea sometimes breaks, lying N.W. sixty fathoms from the breakers, and another on the *inner* side of the opposite reef. Neither of these rocks, however, narrow the channel much, and are only dangerous in the event of the wind breaking the ship off, or in rounding the reefs closely. With a fair wind sail boldly in, keeping mid-channel, and, clueing all up, allow the ship to shoot into a berth about two cables' length from the shore in thirteen or fourteen fathoms. Here she must

wait until the wind falls, and then tow into the harbour; or if the wind be off the land, set fore and aft sails, and keep the boats ready with the lines in them. There are three channels to the inner harbour: of which the two south ones only are frequented, on account of the currents running strong through that to the northward. Perhaps the centre channel, though scarcely broader than a frigate, had better be used going in, and the south coming out. In the centre channel there are eight or twelve fathoms water; but in the southern one a shoal extends from the shore which renders it necessary to keep close to the rock. Anchor in eight and a half fathoms about midway between the outer reef and the shore, opposite some cottages; and moor head and stern by fastening cables to the trees on shore, and carrying out the small bower close to the outer reef.

To proceed to sea it is necessary to warp into the outer anchorage after the sea breeze has done in the evening, or very early in the morning, before it sets in, and push through the channel before the current makes strong. In all these entrances the current sets out in the daytime, sometimes at the rate of two or three knots, and rather sweeps over the reef to the leeward. There is another entrance to Toanoa from Papete, but that just described is the most convenient.

The harbour of Papawa is not frequented, and as it cannot be entered without a pilot, I shall give no directions for it.

PAPIETE.

Two miles to the westward of Toanoa there is a harbour, called by the natives Papiete, capable of containing at least thirty vessels. The entrance is even narrower than that at Toanoa, being only three hundred and seventy feet in the clear, and has a bar with only four and a quarter fathoms upon it. The current here runs out faster than through the channel to the northward, and in blowing weather the sea breaks quite across. This is also a more intricate and dangerous channel than the other; and the only way for a stranger to ensure safety is to moor a boat in the middle of the channel.

There are no good marks for this spot; but as a general remark keep about forty yards from the western extremity of two rocks, which lie eighty yards off the dry part of the eastern reef. These two rocks have only one and a half fathoms upon them, and generally break. There is another rock about sixty yards north of the eastern reef, but this lies out of the channel. On the western side of the channel there is a shoal with only one and a half fathom water upon it, which extends midway between the dry reefs. From this description it is evident that a pilot is necessary for this port, and that the boats should be in readiness to tow or run out kedges as required, whether the pilot advises it or not.

After the entrance is passed, steer S. by E., true, until the first rock on the inside, bearing S. E. by S. one-eighth of a mile from the eastern dry reef, is passed; then haul towards the missionary church and beat up to the anchorage between that shore, which may be approached within a half cable's length, and the reefs which extend from the Moto, or low island, towards the S.W. These reefs will be seen, and may be approached as close as convenient. Another rock lies S. by W., true, 2000 feet from the entrance; but with the trade wind this will be weathered.

If it be necessary, the Moto may be passed to the eastward; but the channel is very narrow, and can only be safely navigated by a person acquainted with it.

Papiete is a very convenient harbour in many respects, but it is subject to calms and much hot weather, in consequence of its being rather to leeward, and the trade wind being obstructed by woods of cocoa-nut trees.

The tides in all these harbours are very irregular. It is generally high water at half an hour after noon every day, and low water at six in the morning.

AWATSKA BAY.

KAMSCHATKA.

It is desirable to make the coast well to the southward of

Cape Gavarea, and to round it as closely as possible, as the wind will in all probability veer to the northward on passing it. If the weather be clear, two mountains will be seen to the west and north-west of the cape, and three far off to the northward and eastward. The eastern one of the two former, called Villeuchinski, is 7.375 feet high, and peaked like a sugar-loaf, and is in latitude $52^{\circ} 39' 43''$ N., and long. $49^{\circ} 46''$ W. of Petropaulski. The highest and most northern of the three latter is the mountain of Awatska, in latitude $53^{\circ} 20' 01''$ N. and long. $3^{\circ} 47''$ E. of the before-mentioned town. Its height is 11.500 feet, and in clear weather it may be seen a very considerable distance. The centre hill of the three is the volcano, but it emits very little smoke. These peaks are the best guide to Awatska Bay, until near enough to distinguish the entrance, which will then appear to lie between high perpendicular cliffs. Upon the eastern one of these, the *light-house bluff*, there is a hut and a signal-staff, and when any vessel is expected a light is sometimes shown. If the harbour be open, a large rock, called the Baboushka, will be seen on the western side of the channel, and three others, named the Brothers, on the eastern side, off the lighthouse. The channel lies in a N. by W. direction, true, and when the wind is fair it may be sailed through by keeping mid-channel; but it frequently happens that vessels have to beat in, and as the narrowness of the channel renders it necessary to stand as close to the dangers as possible, in order to lessen the number of tacks, it is requisite to attend strictly to the leading marks:

The outer dangers are a reef of rocks lying S.E., about two miles from the lighthouse, and a reef lying off a bank which connects the two capes opposite, *i. e.* Stanitski Point with the cape to the southward. To avoid the light-house reef, do not shut in the land to the northward of the lighthouse bluff, unless certain of being at least two miles and a half off shore, and when within three quarters of a miles only, tack when the lighthouse bluff bears N. or N. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. The Brothers Rocks in one with the lighthouse is close upon the edge of the reef. The first western danger has a rock above water upon it, and

may be avoided by not opening the Baboushka with the cape beyond, with a flag-staff upon it, or by keeping Stanitski Point well open with the said signal bluff. In standing towards this rock, take care the ebb tide in particular does not set you upon it. A good working mark for all this western shore is the Baboushka, open with *Direction bluff*, the *last* cape or hill on *the left upon the low land* at the head of Awatska Bay. The bay south of Stanitski Point is filled with rocks and foul ground. The lighthouse reef is connected with the Brothers, and the cape must not be approached in any part within half a mile, nor the Brothers within a full cable's length. There are no good marks for the exact limit of this reef off the Brothers, and consequently ships must estimate that short distance. They must also here, and once for all, in beating through this channel, allow for shooting in stays, and for the tides, which, ebb and flood, sweep over toward these rocks, running S.E. and N.E. They should also keep good way on the vessel, as the eddy currents may otherwise prevent her coming about.

To the northward of the Brothers, two-thirds of the way between them and a ragged cape (Pinnacle Point) at the south extreme of a large sandy bay (Ismenai Bay), there are some rocks nearly awash; and off *Pinnacle Point*, (N.N.W. one mile and three quarters from the lighthouse) there is a small reef, one of the outer rocks of which dries at half tide. These dangers can almost always be seen: their outer edges lie nearly in a line, and they may be approached within a cable's length. If they are not seen, do not shut in the Rakovya signal bluff. Off Pinnacle Point the lead finds deeper water than mid-channel, and very irregular soundings.

To the northward of Stanitski Point the Baboushka may be opened to the eastward a little, with the *signal-staff bluff*, but be careful of a shoal which extends about three cables' length south of the Baboushka. Baboushka has no danger to the eastward at a greater distance than a cable's length, and when it is passed there is nothing to apprehend on the western shore, until N.N.W. of the signal-staff, off which there is a

long shoal, with only two and two and a half fathoms. The water shoals gradually towards it, and the helm may safely be put down in four fathoms and three quarters; but a certain guide is not to open the *western* tangent of Baboushka with Stanitski Point south of it. There is no other danger on this side of the entrance.

When a cable's length north of Pinnacle Reef, you may stretch into Ismenai Bay, guided by the soundings, which are regular, taking care of a three-fathom knoll which lies half-way between Pinnacle Point and the cape north of it. This bay affords good anchorage, and it may be convenient to anchor there for a tide. There is no other danger than the above-mentioned knoll. The large square rock at the northern part of this bay (Ismenai Rock) may be passed at a cable-length distance. This rock is connected with the land to the northward by a reef, and in standing back toward it the *Pinnacle* Point must be kept *open* with the *lighthouse*. When in *one*, there are but three fathoms and a half. Rakovya signal-staff to the northward in *one* with the bluff south of it (which has a large green bush over-hanging its brow), will place you in five fathoms close to the rocks.

Off the north bluff of Ismenai Bay there extends a small reef to a full cable-length from the shore; until this is past do not shut in Pinnacle Point with the lighthouse. But to the northward of it you may tack within a cable-length of the bluffs, extending that distance a little off the signal-staff bluff, in consequence of some rocks which lie off there.

Northward of Rakovya signal-staff the only danger is the Rakovya shoal, upon the W. part of which there is a buoy in the summer, and to clear this keep the Brothers *in sight*.

There is no good mark for determining when you are to the northward of this shoal, and as the tides in their course up Rakovya Harbour are apt to set you towards it, it is better to keep the Brothers open until you are certain, by your distance, of having passed it; (its northern edge is seven-eighths of a mile from Rakovya bluff) particularly as you may now stretch to the westward as far as you please, and as there is

nothing to obstruct your beat-up to the anchorage. The ground is every where good, and a person may select his own berth.

Rakovya Harbour, on the eastern side of Awatska Bay, will afford good security to a vessel running in from sea with a southerly gale, at which time she might find difficulty in bringing up at the usual anchorage. In this case the Rakovka shoal must be rounded and left to the northward; five and five and a half fathoms will close upon the edge of it, but the water should not be shoaled under nine fathoms.

The little harbour of Petropaulski is a convenient place for a refit of any kind. In entering it is only necessary to guard against a near approach to the signal-staff on the peninsula on the west. The sandy point may be passed within a few yards' distance.

Weighing from the anchorage off the Peninsula flag-staff with light winds and with the beginning of the ebb, it is necessary to guard against being swept down upon the Rakovya shoal, and when past it upon the signal bluff on the same side. There are strong eddies all over this bay; and when the winds are light, ships often become unmanageable. It is better to weigh with the last drain of the flood.

Tareinski Harbour, at the S.W. angle of Awatska Bay, is an excellent port, but it is not frequented. It has no danger, and may safely be entered by a stranger.

It is high water at Petropaulski at 3h. 30m. full and change.
 Tide rises 6ft. 7 inch. spring tides.
 2.2 neap tides.

SAN FRANCISCO.

CALIFORNIA.

The harbour of San Francisco, for the perfect security it affords to vessels of any burthen, and the supplies of fresh beef and vegetables, wood, and fresh water, may vie with any port on the N.W. coast of America. It is not, however, without its disadvantages, of which the difficulty of landing at low

water, and the remoteness of the watering-place from the only anchorage which I could recommend, are the greatest.

Ships bound to San Francisco from the northward and westward should endeavour to make Punta de los Reyes, a bold and conspicuous headland, without any danger lying off it sufficiently far to endanger a ship. In clear weather, when running for the land before the latitude is known, or the Punta can be distinguished, its situation may be known by a table-hill terminating the range that passes at the back of Bodega. This hill in one with the Punta de los Reyes bears E. (mag.). If ships are not too far off, they will see, at the same time, San Bruno, two hills to the southward of San Francisco, having the appearance of islands; and from the mast-head, if the weather be very clear, the South Farallon will in all probability be seen. Punta de los Reyes, when viewed from the W. or S.W., has also the appearance of an island, being connected by low land to the two hills eastward. It is of moderate height, and as it stands at the angle formed by the coast line, cannot be mistaken. Soundings may be had off this coast, in depths varying with the latitude. In the parallel of the Farallones they extend a greater distance from the main land, in consequence of these islands lying beyond the general outline of the coast.

The Farallones are two clusters of rocks, which, in consequence of the shoals about them, are extremely dangerous to vessels approaching San Francisco in foggy weather. The southern cluster, of which in clear weather one of the islands may be seen from the mast-head eight or nine leagues, is the largest and highest, and lies exactly S. 3° E. true, eighteen miles from Punta de las Reyes. The small cluster of rocks lies to the N.W., and still further in that direction there are breakers, but I do not know how far they extend from the rocks above water. In a thick foggy night, we struck soundings in twenty-five fathoms, stiff clay, near them; and on standing off, carried regular soundings to thirty-two fathoms, after which they deepened rapidly.

Coming from the southward, or when inside the Farallones, the position of the entrance to San Francisco may be known by the land receding considerably between the table-hill already mentioned, and San Bruno Hill, which, at a distance, appears to terminate the ridge extending from Santa Cruz to the northward. The land to the northward or southward of these two hills has nothing remarkable about it to a stranger; it is, generally speaking, sufficiently high to be seen thirteen to fifteen leagues, and inland is covered with wood.

About eight miles and a quarter from the fort, at the entrance of San Francisco, there is a bar of sand, extending in a S. by E. direction across the mouth of the harbour. The soundings, on approaching it, gradually decrease to four and a quarter and six fathoms low water, spring tide, depending upon the situation of the ship, and as regularly increase on the opposite side to no bottom with the hand-leads. In crossing the bar, it is well to give the northern shore a good berth, and bring the small white island, Alcatrasses, in one with the fort or south bluff, if it can be conveniently done, as they may then ensure six fathoms; but if ships get to the northward, so as to bring the south bluff in one with the Island of Yerba Buena, they will find but four and a quarter; which is little enough with the heavy sea that sometimes rolls over the bar; besides, the sea will sometimes break heavily in that depth, and endanger small vessels: to the northward of this bearing the water is more shallow. Approaching the entrance, the Island of Alcatrasses may be opened with the fort; and the best directions are to keep mid-channel, or on the *weather side*. On the south shore the dangers are above water, and it is only necessary to avoid being set into the bay between the fort and Point Lobos. If necessary, ships may pass inside, or to the southward of the *One Mile Rock*; but it is advisable to avoid doing so, if possible. On approaching it, guard against the tide, which sets strong from the outer point toward it, and in a line for the fort. Off Punta Boneta there is a dangerous reef, on which the sea breaks very heavy: it lies S.W. from the point, and no ship should approach it

nearer, than to bring the fort in one with Yerba Buena Island.

In the entrance it is particularly necessary to attend to the sails, in consequence of the eddy tides and the flaws of wind that come off the land. The boats should also be ready for lowering down on the instant, as the entrance is very narrow, and the tides running strong and in eddies, are apt to sweep a ship over upon one side or the other, and the water is in general too deep for anchorage; besides, the wind may fail when most required. The strongest tides and the deepest water lie over on the north shore. Should a ship be swept into the sandy bay west of the fort, she will find good anchorage on a sandy bottom in ten and fifteen fathoms out of the tide; or in the event of meeting the ebb at the entrance, she might haul in, and there await the change. There is no danger off the fort at a greater distance than a hundred yards.

As soon as a ship passes the fort, she enters a large sheet of water, in which are several islands, two rocks above water, and one under, exceedingly dangerous to shipping, of which I shall speak hereafter. One branch of the harbour extends in a S.E. by S. direction exactly thirty miles, between two ridges of hills, one of which extends along the coast towards the Bay of Monterey, and the other from San Pablo, close at the back of San José to San Juan Baptista, where it unites with the former. This arm terminates in several little winding creeks, leading up to the Missions of Santa Clara and San José. The other great branch takes a northerly direction, passes the Puntas San Pablo and San Pedro, opens out into a spacious basin ten miles in width, and then converging to a second strait, again expands, and is connected with three rivers, one of which is said to take its rise in the rocky mountains near the source of the Columbia.

As a general rule in San Francisco, the deepest water will be found where the tide is the strongest; and out of the current there is always a difficulty in landing at low water. All the bays, except such as are swept by the tide, have a muddy

flat, extending nearly from point to point, great part of which is dry at low water, and occasions the before-mentioned difficulty of landing; and the north-eastern shore, from Punta San Pablo to the Rio Calavaros beyond San José is so flat that light boats only can approach it at high water. In low tides it dries some hundred yards off shore, and has only one fathom water at an average distance of one mile and a half. The northern side of the great basin beyond San Pablo is of the same nature.

After passing the fort a ship may work up for the anchorage without apprehension, attending to the lead and the tides. The only hidden danger is a rock with one fathom on it at low water, spring tides, which lies between Alcatrasses and Yerba Buena islands. It has seven fathoms alongside it: the lead therefore gives no warning. The marks when on it are, the north end of Yerba Buena Island in one with two trees (nearly the last of the straggling ones) south of Palos Colorados, a wood of pines situated on the top of the hill, over San Antonio, too conspicuous to be overlooked; the left hand or S.E. corner of the Presidio just open with the first cape to the westward of it; Sausalito Point open $\frac{1}{4}$ point with the north end of Alcatrasses; and the island of Molate in one with Punta de San Pedro. When to the eastward of Alcatrasses, and working to the S.E., or indeed to the westward, it is better not to stand toward this rock nearer than to bring the Table-peak in one with the north end of Alcatrasses Island, or to shut in Sausalito Point with the south extreme of it. The position of the rock may generally be known by a ripple; but this is not always the case.

There are no other directions necessary in working for Yerba Buena Cove, which I recommend as an anchorage to all vessels intending to remain at San Francisco.

In the navigation of the harbour much advantage may be derived from a knowledge of the tides. It must be remembered that there are two separate extensive branches of water lying nearly at right angles with each other. The ebbs from these unite in the centre of the bay, and occasion rippling.

and eddies, and other irregularities of the stream, sometimes dangerous to boats. The anchorage at Yerba Buena Cove is free from these annoyances, and the passage up to it is nearly so after passing the Presidio. The ebb begins to make first from the Santa Clara arm, and runs down the south shore a full hour before the flood has done about Yerba Buena and Angel Island; and the flood, in its return, makes also first along the same shore, forcing the ebb over the Yerba Buena side, where it unites with the ebb from the north arm.

The flood first strikes over from the Lime Rock*, and passing the Island of Alcatrasses, where it diverges, one part goes quietly to Santa Clara: the other sweeping over the sunken rock, and round the east end of Angel Island, unites with a rapid stream through the narrow channel formed by Angel Island and the main, and both rush to the northward through the Estrecho de San Pablo to restore the equilibrium of the basin beyond, the small rocks of Pedro Blanco and the Alcatrasses Island lying in the strength of the stream.

The mean of eighty observations gave the time of high water (full and change) at

Yerba Buena anchorage 10h. 52m.

The tide at the springs rises 7ft. 10in. sometimes 8ft. 3in.

Neap . . . 1 10

Average rate of ebb at spring

tide 2k. 0f. at neap . 1k. 0f.

Flood . . 1 0 ——— . 0 6

Duration of flood . . . 5h. 25m.

At Sausalito the mean of seven-

teen observations gave the time of high water (full and

change) 9 51

Rise (full and change) . . 6ft. 0in.

Neap 2 6

Duration of flood . . . 4h. 43m.

* See the Chart.

On quitting San Francisco, the direction of the wind in the offing should be considered. If it blow from the S.W. there would be some difficulty in getting out of the bay to the southward of Punta de los Reyes. The residents assert that an easterly wind in the harbour does not extend far beyond the entrance, and that a ship would, in consequence, be becalmed on the bar and perhaps exposed to a heavy swell, or she might be swept back again, and be obliged to anchor in an exposed situation. Northerly winds appear to be most generally approved, as they are more steady and of longer duration than any others: they may, indeed, be said to be the trade-wind on the coast. With them it is advisable to keep the north shore on board, as the strength of the ebb takes that side, and as on the opposite shore, near the One Mile Rock, the tide sets rather *upon* the land. In case of necessity, a ship can anchor to the eastward of the One Mile Rock; but to the S.W. of the rock the ground is very uneven. The wind generally fails in the entrance, or takes a direction in or out. From the fairway steer S.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. and you will carry seven fathoms over the bar, $\frac{1}{2}$ ebb, spring tide. This I judge to be a good course in and out with a fair wind. I would avoid, by every endeavour, the chance of falling into the sandy bay to the southward of Lobos Point, and also closing with the shore to the N.W. of the Punta Boneta.

MONTEREY.

CALIFORNIA.

The anchorage at Monterey is at the south extremity of a deep bay, formed between Punta Ano Nuevo and Punta Pinos. This bay is about seven leagues across, and open in every part except that frequented by shipping, where it is shut in by Point Pinos. Ships should not enter this bay in light winds in any other part than that used as an anchorage, as there is generally a heavy swell from the westward, and deep water close to the shore.

It is impossible to mistake Point Pinos if the weather be at all clear, as its aspect is very different to that of any part of

the bay to the northward. It is a long sloping rocky projection, surmounted by pine-trees, from which it takes its name; whereas the coast line of the bay is all sandy beach. There is no danger in approaching Point Pinos, except that which may ensue from a heavy swell almost always setting upon the Point, and from light winds near the shore, as the water is too deep for anchorage. With a breeze from the southward, Point Pinos should be passed as closely as possible; a quarter of a mile will not be too near: and that shore should be hugged in order to fetch the anchorage. In case of having to make a tack, take care of a shoal at the S. E. angle of the bay, which may be known by a great quantity of sea-weed upon it: there is no other danger. This shoal has three and a half and four fathoms upon its outer edge, and seven fathoms near it. With a fair wind steer boldly towards the sandy beach at the head of the bay, and anchor about one-sixth of a mile off shore in nine fathoms, the fort upon the hill near the beach bearing W. S. W., and moor with the best bower to the E. N. E.

This anchorage, though apparently unsafe, is said to be very secure, and that the only danger is from violent gusts of wind from the S. E. The north-westerly winds, though they prevail upon the coast, and send a heavy swell into the bay, do not blow home upon the shore: and when they are at all fresh they occasion a strong off-set in the bay. This, I believe, is also the case at Callao and at Valparaiso, to which this anchorage bears a great resemblance.

There is no good water to be had at Monterey, and ships in want of that necessary supply must either proceed to San Francisco, or procure a permit from the governor, and obtain it at Santa Cruz, or some of the missions to the southward.

By the mean of many observations on the tides at this place, it is

High water (full and change) at 9 h. 42 m.

Rise is about . . . 6 ft. 0 in. at spring-tide,

And . . . 1 2 at the neaps.

There is very little current at the anchorage.

HONORURU.

SANDWICH ISLANDS.

The harbour of Honoruru has a bar, with only twenty feet water upon it at low water, and the channel is so narrow and intricate that no stranger should attempt it. The natives understand the signal for a pilot, and will come off if the weather is not too boisterous. In consequence of this difficulty ships anchor outside, in about sixteen fathoms water; the Punch-bowl bearing N. N. E. half E., and the highest part of Diamond Point E. by S. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.

Should it be necessary to enter the harbour, the morning is the best time, as there are then leading winds through the passage; but after the trade wind has set in it cannot be entered. It is necessary to adopt the precaution of having the boats ready to tow or run out lines to the reefs.

From the outer anchorage run along shore in nothing less than eleven fathoms, and look out for a large grass-hut, which stands conspicuous upon the wharf at the north head of the harbour, on the western side of a new yellow European house. When the north end of this hut is *in one* with the *eastern* chimney of an European built house,* with a ship's figure-head attached to it,† haul directly in for the opening between the breakers, which will now be seen.

The bar is about fifty fathoms in breadth, and consists of smooth coral rock, having ten fathoms close to its outer edge, and seven fathoms on the inner.

When on the bar, the King's residence (an European built house with a slate-coloured pointed roof), situated to the N. E. of the town, will be open to the westward of the north-west hummock of Punch-bowl Hill; the before-mentioned mark of the hut and chimney will also be on, and is to be kept so until the outer cocoa-nut tree in Wytiete Bay comes in one with a small rise on the northern part of Diamond Hill. Then

* The only house that had a chimney in 1827.

† These in one bear N. 20° E. by compass.

bring the eastern tangent of the cluster of cocoa-nut trees nearest the fort, in one with a remarkable saddle on the mountain at the back of the town, until the outer part of the dry ground on the right comes on with *Diamond Point*, or until a large hut standing by itself on the north shore of the harbour is in one with *four* cocoa-nut trees in a cluster. With these marks, steer for the *four* trees, open the trees to the eastward until they are a sail's-breadth apart; and when the fort flag-staff is one with the trees eastward of the fort, anchor in four and a quarter fathoms, mud.

These directions will, I think, be intelligible to a person on the spot; but I must repeat, that no stranger should run for this harbour, except in cases of absolute necessity. Should it be attempted, a good look-out from the jib-boom end, or fore-yard, will be found serviceable.

In consequence of the sea that rolls over the reef, and breaks in four or five fathoms water, it is necessary that boats should follow nearly the directions that have been given for vessels, except that when the eastern point of the dry land on the right of the entrance comes on with *Diamond Hill*, they may then steer for the south end of a stone wall, which will be seen on the western side of the harbour; and when the before-mentioned yellow house opens, they may steer for the landing place. Unless they adopt these precautions, they will in all probability run upon the reefs, or be upset. And in entering the harbour, it is necessary for boats as well as shipping to keep the marks strictly on.

I shall conclude these remarks, the greater part of which have been furnished by Mr. Elson, the master, by observing, that the water in the wells in the town is unwholesome upon a voyage, and that it is proper to send the casks up the river to be filled.

TYPA.

MACAO.

The depth of water in the Typa has diminished within these last thirty years, as there are now not more than nine and a half or ten feet water, at the lowest spring-tides, and no vessel

drawing more than fourteen or at the most fifteen feet, can enter at the top of the tide.

There are no marks required for this channel; but with the last of the flood (say three-quarters), enter between Kaloo and Kai-kong, keeping about mid-channel, and when the *western* point of the *western* Kai-kong opens with the ragged point at the S. W. extremity of the *eastern* Kai-kong, keep a little to the northward, and pass the ragged point at the distance of a quarter of a mile; then steer mid-channel between the islands, remembering not to attempt the channel between the *western* Kai-kong and the island of Makarina. The water will now deepen, and when the town of Macao opens with the *west* Kai-kong, and when the ragged point bears *east*, anchor in about eighteen or twenty feet water; in which berth you will have good riding ground over a muddy bottom.

The time of high water is 9 h. 30 m.

The tide at full and change rises 7 ft 1 in.; rate about 2 k. 4 f.;
at the neap . . . 2 1 . . . 1 6.

The flood sets to the northward from the anchorage, and branches off on meeting the tide setting westward to the north of Kai-kong.

NAPAKIANG.

LOO CHOO.

Ships bound to Napakiang may pass close round the south extremity of the island, and sail along the western coast at the distance of a mile or a mile and a half. They will then see a sandy island in latitude $26^{\circ} 05' 50''$ N., and longitude $7^{\circ} 40''$ W. of Abbey Point, which is the only danger to the westward of Loo Choo that I am acquainted with, until near the Kirrama Islands, or to the northward of the entrance of Napakiang.

Abbey Point, at the south extremity of the port of Napakiang, may be known by its ragged outline, and by a small wooded eminence called Wood Point, situated about a mile and a half to the southward of it. The mainland here falls back, and forms a bay, which is sheltered by coral reefs stretching to the northward from Abbey Point; they are, however, disconnected, and between them and the point there

is a channel sufficiently deep for the largest ship. Nearly in the centre of this channel, outside withal, there is a coral bank named Blossom Rock, having a good passage on either side of it. The channel between it and Abbey Point should be adopted with southerly winds and flood tides, and that to the northward with the reverse. A reef extends off Abbey Point, which, for convenience of description, will be called Abbey Reef. When off Abbey Point a rocky headland will be seen, about a mile and a half north of the town; this I shall call Kumi Head, and upon the ridge of high land beyond it three hummocks will be seen to the left of a cluster of trees. In the distance, a little to the left of these, is Mount Onnodake, in latitude $26^{\circ} 27' N$. A remarkable rock, which, from its form, has been named Capstan Rock, will next appear; and then, to the northward of the town, a rocky head with a house upon its summit, which I shall call False Capstan Head. At the back of Capstan Rock there is a hill, named Sheudi, upon which the upper town is built. The highest southern point of this is one of the landmarks to which I shall have to refer.

Having opened out the Capstan Rock, haul towards Abbey Reef, and bring the right-hand hummock about 4° to the east of Kumi Head, and steering in with these marks on, you will pass through the south channel in about seven fathoms water, over the tail of Blossom Rock. You may now round Abbey Reef tolerably close, and steer in for the anchorage. Should the wind veer to the eastward in the passage between Blossom Rock and Abbey Point, with the above-mentioned marks on, you must not stand to the northward, unless the *outer* cluster of trees near the extremity of Wood Point are in one with, or open to the westward of, Table Hill, a square rocky headland to the southward of it. This mark clears also the tongue of Oar Reef, which with Blossom Rock forms the other western channel.

It is advisable, with the wind to the north-eastward, to beat through the channel north of Blossom Rock (Oar Channel), in preference to that above-mentioned. To do this, bring the *false* capstan-head in one with a *flat cluster of trees on the ridge to the right of the first gap south of Sheudi*: this will

clear the *north* tongue of Blossom Rock; but unless the Table Hill be open to the eastward of Wood Hill, you must not stand to the southward, but tack directly the water shoals to less than twelve fathoms, and endeavour to enter with the marks on. Having passed to the N. E. of Blossom Rock, which you will know by Wood Hill being seen to the *right* of Table Hill, stand towards Abbey Point as close as you please; then tack, and on nearing Oar Reef take care of a tongue which extends to the eastward of it, and be careful to tack immediately the *outer trees* of Wood Point open with Abbey Point. In entering at either of the western channels, remember that the flood-tide sets to the northward over Blossom's Rock, and the ebb to the southward.

The best anchorage is in Barnpool, at the N. E. part of the bay, in seven fathoms water, where a vessel may ride in perfect security. The outer anchorage, I should think, would be dangerous with a hard westerly gale. The Blossom anchored there in fourteen fathoms muddy bottom: Abbey Bluff, S. 43° 20' W.; Capstan Rock, S. 75° 40' E.; (mag.); variation 53' 59" E.

The entrance to Barnpool lies between Barnhead and the reef off Capstan Rock. In entering, you are not to approach Barnhead nearer than to bring the north tangent of *Hole Rock* (to the northward of Capstan Rock) in one with the before-mentioned *flat clump of trees* on the hill south of Sheudi, until the point of the burying ground (Cemetery Point) is seen just clear of Capstan Head. You may anchor in any part of Barnpool.

As the northern channel into Napakiang is very dangerous, I shall not tempt any person to sail through it, by giving directions for it.

It is high water at Napakiang at 6 h. 28 m., full and change; rise from five to seven and a half feet, but this was very irregular during our stay at the place.

ARZOBISPO ISLANDS.

PORT LLOYD.

This group of islands lies N. by E. and S. by W., and is divided into three clusters, extending from $27^{\circ} 44' 35''$ N. to $26^{\circ} 30'$ N. and beyond. As I have described these islands in my narrative, I shall here give only the necessary direction for entering Port Lloyd, which is the best harbour in the group, and indeed, the only one that should be frequented.

DIRECTIONS FOR ENTERING PORT LLOYD.

Having ascertained the situation of the port, steer boldly in for the *southern head*; taking care not to bring it to the *northward* of N. 47° E, true, or to shut in with it two paps on the N.E. side of the harbour, which will be seen nearly in one with it on this bearing. *In this position they are a safe leading mark.* To the southward of this line there is broken ground.

If the wind be from the southward, which is generally the case in the summer time, round the south Bluff at the distance of two hundred yards, *close to a sunken rock*, which may be distinctly seen in clear weather. Keep fresh way upon the ship, in order that she may shoot an end through the eddy winds, which baffle under the lee of the head*; and to prevent her coming round against the helm, which would be dangerous. The winds will at first break the ship off, but she will presently come up again: *if she does not*, be ready to go about, as you will be close upon the reefs to the northward, and put the helm down *before the south end of the island off the port to the westward* comes on with the *High Square Rock at the north side of the entrance.*

If she comes up, steer for a high *Castle Rock* at the east end of the harbour, until a pointed rock on the sandy neck to the eastward of the *south* headland comes in one with a high sugar-

* Keep the top-gallant clew-lines in hand.

loaf shaped grassy hill to the southward of it. After which you may bear away for the anchorage, taking care not to open the sugar-loaf again to the westward of the pointed rock †. The best anchorage, Ten-fathom Hole excepted, which it is necessary to warp into, is at the northern part of the harbour where the anchor is marked in the plan.

In bringing up, take care of a spit which extends off the south end of the small island near Ten-fathom Hole, and not to shoot so far over to the western reef as to bring a rock, at the outer foot of the south bluff, in one with some black rocks which will be seen near you to the south-westward. The depth of water will be from eighteen or twenty fathoms, clay and sand.

If the wind be from the northward, beat between the line of the afore-mentioned *Sugar Loaf and Pointed Rock* westward, and a north and south line from the Castle Rock to the eastward. This rock on the western side, as well as the bluff to the northward of it, may be shaved if necessary. The hand-leads are of very little use in beating in here, as the general depth is twenty or twenty-four fathoms.

The best watering-place is in Ten-fathom Hole. It is necessary to be cautious of the sharks, which are very numerous in this harbour. It is high water 6h. 8m., full and change.

TRES MARIAS AND SAN BLAS.

WEST COAST OF MEXICO.

The Tres Marias, situated 1° 15' west of San Blas, consist of three large islands, steep and rocky, to the westward, and sloping to the eastward with long sandy spits. Off the S. E. extremity of Prince George's Island (the centre of the group) we found that the soundings decreased rapidly from seventy-five fathoms to seventeen, and that after that depth they were more regular. Two miles from the shore we found ten and twelve fathoms, bad holding ground. There is nothing to make it desirable for a vessel to anchor at these

† This rock is white on the top with birds' dung, and looks like an island.

islands. Upon Prince George's Island there is said to be water of a bad description; but the landing is in general very hazardous.

There are passages between each of these islands. The northern channel requires no particular directions: that to the southward of Prince George's Island is the widest and best; but care must be taken of a reef lying one third of a mile off its S.W. point, and of a shoal extending a mile and a half off its south-eastern extremity. I did not stand close to the south Maria, but could perceive that there were breakers extending full three quarters of a mile off its S.E. extremity; and I was informed at San Blas that some reefs also extended from two to four miles off its south-western point. There is an islet off the north-west part of this island, apparently bold on all sides; but I cannot say how closely it may be approached.

From the south channel Piedro de Mer bears N. 76° E. true, about forty-five miles. It is advisable to steer to windward of this course, in order that, as the winds, during the period at which it is proper to frequent this coast, blow from the northward, the ship may be well to windward.

The Piedro de Mer is a white rock, about a hundred and thirty feet high, and a hundred and forty yards in length, with twelve fathoms all round it, and bears from Mount St. Juan N. 77° W. thirty miles.

Having made Piedro de Mer, pass close to the southward of it, and unless the weather is thick, you will see a similarly shaped rock, named Piedro de Tierra, for which you should steer, taking care not to go to the northward of a line of bearing between the two, as there is a shoal which stretches to the southward from the mainland. This course will be S. 79° E. true, and the distance between the two rocks is very nearly ten miles.

To bring up in the road of San Blas, round the Piedro de Tierra, at a cable's length distance, and anchor in five fathoms, with the low rocky point of the harbour bearing N. $\frac{1}{2}$ E., and the two Piedros in one. This road is very much exposed to winds from S.S.W. to N.N.W., and ships should always be

prepared for sea, unless it be in the months in which the northerly winds are settled. Should the wind veer to the westward, and a gale from that quarter be apprehended, no time should be lost in slipping and endeavouring to get an offing, as a vessel at anchor is deeply embayed, and the holding ground is very bad. In case of necessity a vessel may cast to the westward, and stand between the Piedro de Tierra and the Fort Bluff, in order to make a tack to the westward of the rock, after which it will not be necessary again to stand to the northward of a line connecting the two Piedros.

The road of San Blas should not be frequented between the months of May and December, as during that period the coast is visited by storms from the southward and westward, attended by heavy rains, and thunder and lightning. It is besides the sickly season, and the inhabitants having all migrated to Tepic, no business whatever is transacted at the port.

It is high water at San Blas at 9h. 41m., full and change; rise between six and seven feet spring tide.

MAZATLAN.

The anchorage at Mazatlan, at the mouth of the Gulf of California, in the event of a gale from the south-westward, is more unsafe than that at San Blas, as it is necessary to anchor so close to the shore, that there is not room to cast and make a tack. Merchant vessels moor here with the determination of riding out the weather, and for this purpose go well into the bay. Very few accidents, however, have occurred, either here or at San Blas, as it scarcely ever blows from the quarter to which these roads are open between May and December.

There is no danger whatever on the coast between Piedro de Mer and Mazatlan; the lead is a sure guide. The island of Isabella is steep, and has no danger at the distance of a quarter of a mile. It is a small island, about a mile in length, with two remarkable needle rocks lying near the shore to the eastward of it.

Beating up along the coast of Sonora, some low hills, of which two or three are shaped like cones, will be seen upon the sea-shore. The first of these is about nine leagues south

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITIONS.

The words in italics in the first column are native names.

NAMES OF PLACES.	Latitude.		Longitude.		Remarks.
	North.	From Meridian of	West from Greenwich.		
	° ' "	<i>Greenwich.</i>	° ' "		
EIGHT STONES . . .	34 48 20	. . . . .	16 47 59		{ Do not exist within the horizon of this spot.
SANTA CRUZ, . . .	28 27 51	. . . . .	16 14 23		
TENRIFFE, . . .	South.				Saluting Battery.
FERNANDO NORONHA, . . .	3 52 55	. . . . .	32 15 35		The Church Peak.
RIO JANEIRO, . . .	22 54 37	. . . . .	43 04 41		Villegagnon Fort.
TALCAHUANA, . . .	36 42 35	. . . . .	72 56 59		Fort St. Augustine.
		<i>Talcahuana.</i>	72 56 56		Observatory.
VALPARAISO, . . .	. . .	{ 1° 27' 36" E.	71 29 20		From Conception } Landing
		{ 0 16 57 W	71 33 34		From Coquimbo } place.
SALAS Y GOMEZ ISL. . .	36 27 46	32 23 12	105 20 08		S. E. extreme.
	27 08 46	36 27 40	109 24 36		Perouse Point, Cook's Bay.
EASTER ISLAND, . . .	27 06 28	36 15 22	109 12 18		Peaked Hill on N. E. extreme.
	27 11 21	36 28 30	109 24 26		Needle Rock.
	27 03 33	. . . . .	. . . . .		Point St. John.
OLIVE'S ISLAND, . . .	24 40 20	51 48 42	124 45 38		N. E. extreme.
HENDERSON'S OF ELIZABETH ISLAND, . . .	24 21 18	55 21 31	128 18 27		N. E. extreme.
PITCAIRN ISLAND, . . .	25 03 37	{ 57 11 13	130 08 09		{ Village from Talcahuana.
		. . . . .	130 08 23		{ From Bow Island
		<i>Pitcairn Isl.</i>	130 08 23		Village.
PERCULLES, or OENO I. . .	24 01 21	0 32 36 W	130 40 59		N. E. extreme of trees.
ASCENT ISLAND, . . .	23 20 23	4 56 45	134 35 08		South extreme.
	23 17 39	. . . . .	. . . . .		N. W. extreme.
	23 08 23	4 46 58	134 55 21		Watering Valley.
ANDER ISLANDS, . . .	23 07 58	4 46 21	134 54 54		Eastern Peak of Mount
	23 01 17	. . . . .	. . . . .		N. extreme of Low Island.
	23 15 15	. . . . .	. . . . .		South extreme of breakers.
		<i>Gambier.</i>	134 55 21		
WOOD'S ISLAND, . . .	21 40 50	0 37 58	135 33 19		West point.
INERVA, or CLER- . . .	18 33 42	1 06 11	136 01 32		S. E. extreme.
PORT DE TONNERE, I. . .	18 28 48	. . . . .	. . . . .		North point.
	18 16 01	2 05 24	137 00 45		Northern big tree.
ALL'S ISLAND, . . .	18 22 39	1 59 42	136 55 03		S. E. extreme.
WITSUNDAY ISLAND, . . .	19 23 38	3 41 27	138 36 48		Large tree near N. W. extreme.
GREEN CHARLOTTE ISL. . .	19 17 40	3 47 07	138 42 28		Large tree near E. extreme.
COOK'S (Cook's) ISL. . .	18 43 19	3 41 52	138 47 13		West clump coconuts.
NAME TEAY, . . .	18 42 26	. . . . .	. . . . .		North extreme.
	. . . . .	3 47 51	138 43 12		East extreme.
NEW CAP ISLAND, . . .	18 30 08	4 12 39	139 08 00		Cluster N. W.
FRONT ISLAND, . . .	19 22 59	4 16 42	139 12 09		Cluster North ex
	19 24 26	4 19 13	139 14 34		S. W. extreme.
	. . . . .	4 07 48	139 03 09		North extreme.
LOW ISLAND, . . .	20 45 07	{ 4 08 48	139 04 09		West extreme.

PLACE.	Latitude. South.	Longitude.		Remarks.
		From Meridian of	West from Greenwich.	
		<i>Gambier.</i>		
		° ' "	° ' "	
INLAND,	20 44 53	80 27' 23" W	138 22 44	Cocoa-nut trees, N.E. extreme.
		8 24 07	138 19 28	East extreme.
	21 47 00			North extreme.
INLAND, OF	21 53 42	4 04 13	138 59 34	S. W. extreme.
REEF,	21 50 32	8 49 07	138 44 28	East extreme.
	21 50 00	8 58 33	138 53 54	Sandy Island on the Bar.
	22 12 25	8 44 32	138 39 53	Hillock at N. E. extreme.
INLAND,	22 17 09			S. W. extreme.
LAGOON ISLAND,	21 37 41	5 42 37	140 37 58	North extreme.
STYL ISLAND,	19 40 22	5 27 07	140 22 28	N. W. extreme.
INLAND,	19 07 38	5 42 28	140 37 49	N. E. extreme.
	19 08 44	5 45 30	140 40 51	S. W. extreme.
	18 04 31		140 56 58	Morai at entrance.
NOT called		<i>Bow Island.</i>	140 51 35	Observatory.
	18 04 00			North extreme.
	18 08 31	0 09 24 W	141 00 59	Cluster cocoa-nuts W. extreme
	18 26 06	0 13 09 E	140 38 26	S. E. extreme.
ISLAND,	17 44 18	0 16 21	140 35 14	N. E. cocoa-nuts at extreme.
	17 52 51	0 03 09	140 48 26	S. W. extreme.
ON (TOWER),	17 22 20	0 32 15 W.	141 23 50	Cocoa-nuts S. E. extreme.
	19 10 19	0 19 08	141 10 43	North Stony point.
INLAND,	19 12 20	0 17 31	141 19 06	S. E. extreme.
	18 49 02			South extreme of reef.
ISLAND, OF	18 45 53	0 51 03	141 42 38	S. W. extreme.
	18 42 54	0 47 50	141 39 25	N. E. extreme.
	18 18 10	1 15 08	142 06 43	South extreme.
	18 15 36	1 12 22	142 03 57	S. E. do.
	18 10 08	1 15 08	142 06 43	Two cocoa-nuts near N. extreme
	17 58 24	1 16 20	142 08 15	North extreme.
	18 09 58			South extreme.
INLAND,	17 19 46	1 29 36	142 22 11	East extreme.
INLAND,	17 34 59	1 47 37	142 39 12	N. W. extreme.
		1 40 11	142 31 46	S. E. extreme.
	17 48 00	2 13 17	143 04 52	North extreme.
INLAND,	17 26 30	2 32 07	143 23 42	Two cocoa-nut trees E. extreme
INLAND,	17 53 38	7 9 12	148 00 47	The Peak.
	17 54 12			South tangent.
		8 14 07	149 05 42	S. E. extreme.
INUS,		8 37 25	149 29 00	
		<i>Tbanoa.</i>	149 30 42	Observatory.
	17 31	0 16 22 W	149 47 04	Peak with hole through it.
INLAND,	17 05 23	0 00 16	149 30 58	S. E. extreme.
		<i>Wahoo.</i>	158 00 00	
	17 48 17	0 33 30	160 23 20	Yam Bay S. W. extreme.
	17 05 47	0 33 30	201 16 30	Church.
	17 43 43	0 33 30	201 39 21	
	17 43 43	0 33 30	201 20 52	
	17 43 43	0 33 30	201 12 25	
	17 43 43	0 33 30	194 00 09	North low points.
	17 17 09		196 10 21	West point, or Point Kytro
	17 18 35		194 15 39	N. W. end.
	17 04 31		191 22 30	S. W. cape.
			189 30 30	N. W. cape.
			146 00	
			147 48	The Western peak.

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITIONS.

NAMES OF PLACES.	Latitude. North.	Longitude.		Remarks.
		From Meridian of	West from Greenwich.	
		<i>Petropaulski.</i>		
St. GEORGE'S ISLAND,	56° 37' 30"	70° 46' 49" W	169° 32' 49"	The south peak.
{ N. W. or RATMA- NOFF ISLAND,	65° 51' 12"	7 17 45	169° 03' 45"	N. W. extremity.
{ KRUSENSTERN ISL.	65° 46' 17"	7 09 10	168° 55' 10"	South extremity.
{ S. E. of FAIRWAY ROCK, . . .	65° 38' 40"	6 57 45	168° 43' 45"	Centre.
EAST CAPE, . . .	66° 03' 10"	7 57 50	169° 43' 50"	South-east extremity.
CAPE PRINCE OF WALES,	65° 33' 30"	8 13 10	167° 59' 10"	Bluff under the peak.
CAPE ESPENBERG,	66° 34' 56"	1 50 38	163° 36' 38"	East extreme.
CAPE KRUSENSTERN,	67° 08' 00"	2 00 00	163° 46' 00"	Low cape not defined.
{	67° 11' 05"	1 50 45	163° 36' 45"	Western bluff over Cape K.
CAPE DECEIT,	66° 06' 20"	0 54 32	162° 40' 32"	At S. E. extreme of Kotzebue
POINT RODNEY, . .	64° 42' 10"	4 31 50	166° 17' 50"	[Sound.
KING'S ISLAND, . .	64° 58' 49"	6 11 47	167° 57' 47"	Northern peak.
CAPE YORK, . . .	65° 24' 10"	5 33 40	167° 19' 40"	
PORT CLARENCE, . .	65° 16' 40"	5 01 50	166° 47' 50"	Point Spencer.
CHANISSE ISLAND,	66° 13' 11"	. . . . .	161° 46' 00"	The summit by obs.
CAPE MULGRAVE, . .	. . . . .	2 11 41	163° 57' 41"	Badly defined.
CAPE THOMSON, . .	68° 07' 39"	4 06 26	165° 52' 26"	
SHARP PEAK OVER CAPE SEPPINGS,	67° 57' 20"	2 55 21	164° 41' 21"	
{	68° 19' 50"	5 00 24	166° 46' 24"	Sandy point.
HOPE POINT, . . .	68° 19' 15"	. . . . .	. . . . .	Lieutenant Belcher.
CAPE DYER, . . .	68° 37' 52"	4 22 19	166° 08' 19"	
{	68° 52' 09"	4° 19' 39	166° 05' 39"	Flint Station.
CAPE LISBURNE, . .	68° 52' 03"	. . . . .	. . . . .	Lieutenant B.
CAPE SABINE, . . .	68° 56' 40"	2 49 08	164° 35' 08"	
CAPE BEAUFORT, . .	69° 06' 47"	1 52 28	163° 38' 28"	Coal Station.
LAKE STATION, . .	69° 34' 23"	1 20 40	163° 06' 40"	Village.
{	70° 20' 01"	0-00 08	161° 46' 08"	Village.
KEY CAPE,	70° 19' 08"	. . . . .	. . . . .	Lieutenant Belcher.
CAPE COLLIE, . . .	70° 37' 24"	1 50 36 E	159° 55' 24"	
POINT BARROW, . .	71° 23' 31"	. . . . .	156° 21' 30"	Boat expedition.
SAN FRANCISCO, . .	37° 47' 50"	<i>San Francisco.</i>	122° 23' 07"	Observatory.
PUNTA DE LOS REYES,	37° 59' 40"	0 36 52 W	122° 59' 59"	The extremity of the cliff.
GREAT FARALLON, .	37° 41' 55"	0 35 51	122° 58' 58"	The Peak.
TABLE HILL, . . .	37° 55' 40"	0 10 27	122° 33' 37"	
BOLBONES MOUNTAIN,	37° 52' 55"	0 29 26 E.	121° 53' 44"	Height 3765 feet.
SAN FRANCISCO, . .	37° 48' 30"	0 04 16 W	122° 27' 23"	The fort.
NOTCH HILL, . . .	37° 30' 58"	0 00 00	122° 23' 07"	A small peak on the coast.
MONTFREY,	36° 36' 24"	0 31 21	121° 51' 46"	The fort.
POINT PINAS, . . .	36° 37' 15"	. . . . .	. . . . .
HONORORU FORT, (<i>Wahoo.</i>)	21° 18' 12"	. . . . .	158° 00' 25"	
{	. . . . .	<i>Wahoo.</i>	. . . . .
MACAO,	22° 12' 00"	88° 31' 18 W	246° 31' 18	Saluting battery.
{	. . . . .	<i>Typa.</i>	246° 28' 00	
ASSUMPTION ISLAND,	19° 40' 58"	31° 55' 18 E.	214° 32' 42 W.	end Kaikong.
MANGS,	19° 57' 02"	31° 47' 48	214° 40' 12	The peak.
NORTH BASHER, . .	. . . . .	8° 29' 00	238° 01' 04	{ Peak on Centre Island,
VILA RETE, . . . .	. . . . .	7° 19' 32	239° 03' 28	{ The Mangs from east point
FORMOSA, . . . . .	. . . . .	7° 23' 21	239° 04' 38	{ Assumption, true N. 27°
PEDRA BRANCA, . .	. . . . .	1° 33' 13	244° 54' 47 S. E.	{ tangent. [07½' W.

APPENDIX.

NAMES OF PLACES.	Latitude.	Longitude.		Remarks.
		From Meridian of	West from Greenwich.	
LITTLE BOTEL TOBAGO,	21 57 30	8 08 30 E.	238 19 30	N. E. extreme.
XIMA,	21 57 00	8 07 50	238 20 10	S. W. extreme.
GREAT TOBAGO,	22 01 40	8 07 45	238 20 15	S. W. extreme.
XIMA,	22 06 10	8 00 50	238 27 10	N. W. extreme.
SAMSANNE ISLAND,	22 41 15	8 00 30	238 27 30	The centre.
LOO CHOO,	26 12 25	14 10 20	232 17 40	Abbey Point station.
Ditto,	26 04 05	. . . . .	. . . . .	South extreme.
		Abbey Point.	232 17 40	
SANDY ISLAND,	26 05 50	0 07 40 W.	232 25 20	The centre.
KIRRAMA ISLAND,	26 09 00	0 25 30	232 43 10	The high wedge shaped island
PORT LLOYD,	27 05 35	14 29 30 E.	217 48 29	No. 1 station, N. ex. harbour
		From No. 1 sta	217 48 30	
N. W. Island of	27 43 30	0 03 49 W.	217 52 19	The N. W. tangent.
PARRY'S GROUP				
KATER ISLAND,	27 29 40	0 00 42 E.	217 47 48	The north extreme.
SAN BLAS, . . . . .	. . . . .	17 08 35	105 15 30	At Arsenal.
		San Blas.	105 14 43	Town 47' east of Arsenal.
SAN JUAN MOUNT,	21 27 00	0 18 10 E.	104 50 33	Southern pap.
TONALISCO MOUNT,	21 46 48	0 29 48	104 44 55	
TEPIC	21 30 42	. . . . .	. . . . .	Consulate.
PIEDRA DE MER,	21 34 45	0 13 30 W.	105 28 13	
ISABELLA ISLAND,	21 51 15	0 37 20	105 52 03	The peak.
NORTHERN ISLAND,	21 32 53	1 13 20	106 28 03	The south bluff.
SAN JUANITO,	21 45 00	1 23 50	106 38 35	Flat Island, N. W. part.
PRINCE GEORGE,	21 44 05	1 24 37	106 39 20	High rock.
SOUTHERN ISLAND,	21 28 12	1 09 58	106 24 41	The northern peak.
MAZATLAN,	21 19 22	0 57 20	106 12 03	The eastern peak.
CORVETENA,	23 11 40	1 07 41	106 22 24	High bluff at extreme.
		0 33 06	105 47 49	Sn all rock off C. Corrientes
CAPE CORRIENTES, . . . . .	. . . . .	0 24 30	105 39 13	{ This cape, in one S Juan Mt
				bears N. 32° 24' E., true.
COLIMA MOUNTAIN,	19 24 42	1 41 42 E.	103 33 01	2,003 feet high.
ACAPULCO,	16 50 32	5 23 59	99 50 44	Fort San Carlos.
	South.			
COQUIMBO,	29 56 57	. . . . .	71 16 41	The copper foundery.

AURORA BOREALIS.

WE had frequent opportunities of observing the Aurora Borealis in the autumns of 1826 and of 1827. From the 25th of August until the 9th October, about the time of the departure of the Blossom from the northern regions in both years, this beautiful meteor was visible on every night that was clear, or when the clouds were thin and elevated.* It is remarkable that, in both years, its first appearance was on the 25th August. The season of 1826 was distinguished by an almost uninterrupted succession of fine weather and easterly winds, and that of the following year by continued boisterous weather and winds from the westward. In the former year, the weather being fine, the Aurora was more frequently seen than in the latter; but in 1827 the displays were brighter, and the light more frequently passed to the southward of the zenith. It never appeared in wet weather.

In 1826, when, as before mentioned, the weather was settled, the Aurora generally began in the W.N.W. and passed over to the N.E., until a certain period, after which it as regularly commenced in the N.E. and passed to the N.W.; whilst in 1827 the appearance of the meteor was as uncertain as the season was boisterous and changeable. The period when this change in the course of the light took place coincided very nearly with that of the equinox; and as the Aurora Borealis has been supposed to be affected by that occurrence, we imagined that the change might be in some way owing thereto, but the irregularity of the meteor in this respect in 1827 gave a contradiction to this hypothesis. It was, however, uniform in making its appearance always in the northern hemisphere, and generally in the form of elliptical arches from 30° to 70° of altitude, nearly parallel with the magnetic equator. These

* In 1826 it was visible on twenty-one nights; in 1827 only eleven.

arches were formed by short perpendicular rays passing from one quarter to the other with a lateral motion, or by their being met by similar rays from the opposite direction. The arches, when formed, in general remained nearly stationary, and gave out coruscations, which streamed toward the zenith. When at rest the light was colourless, but when any movement took place it exhibited prismatic colours, which increased in strength as the motion became rapid. The coruscations seldom reached our zenith, and more rarely passed to the southward of it, but when that occurred the display was always brilliant: on one occasion only they extended to the southern horizon.

We remarked, that when any material change was about to occur one extremity of the arch became illuminated, and that this light passed along the belt with a tremulous hesitating movement toward the opposite end, exhibiting the colours of the rainbow. An idea may be formed of this appearance from the examination of the rays of some moluscos animals in motion, such as the nereis, but more particularly the be- roes. Captain Parry has compared its motion to the waving of a ribbon. See *Second Voyage*, p. 144. As the light proceeded along the arch, coruscations emanated from it; and as the motion became violent the curve was often deflected and sometimes broken into segments, which were brightest at their extremities, and in general highly coloured. When one ray of the Aurora crossed another, the point of intersection was sometimes marked by a prismatic spot, very similar to that which occurs in the intersections of coronæ about the moon, but far more brilliant; and when the segments, which generally *crooked* toward the zenith, were much curved, colours were perceptible in the bend. Generally speaking, after any brilliant display, the sky became overcast with a dense haze, or with light fleecy clouds.

The Aurora has been frequently observed to rest upon a dark nebulous substance, which some persons have supposed to be merely an optical deception, occasioned by the lustre of the arch; but this appearance never occurs *above* the arch, which would be the case, I think, if these surmises were well

founded. We sometimes saw this cloud before any light was visible, and observed it afterwards become illuminated at its upper surface, and exhibit all the appearances above mentioned. It was the general opinion that the lustre of all the stars was diminished by the Aurora, but particularly by this part of it. Captain Parry, however, observes in his Journal, p. 142, that the stars in this dark cloud were unobscured, except by the light of the Aurora. He, however, agrees with us in the lower part of the arch being always well defined, and in the upper being softened off, and gradually mingled with the azure of the sky. It is worthy of notice, that we never observed any rays shoot downwards from this arch, and I believe the remark will apply equally to the observations of Captains Parry and Franklin. We frequently observed the Aurora attended by a thin fleecy-cloud like substance, which, if not part of the meteor, furnishes a proof of the displays having taken place within the region of our atmosphere, as the light was decidedly seen between it and the earth. This was particularly noticed on the 28th of September, 1827. The Aurora on that night began by forming two arches from W. by N. northward to E. by N., and about eleven o'clock threw out brilliant coruscations. Shortly after the zenith was obscured by a lucid haze, which soon condensed into a canopy of light clouds. We could detect the Aurora above this canopy by several bright arches being refracted, and by brilliant colours being apparent in the interstices. Shortly afterwards the meteor descended, and exhibited a splendid appearance, without any interruption from clouds, and then retired, leaving the fleecy stratum only visible as at first. This occurred several times, and left no doubt in my own mind of the Aurora being at one time above and at another below the canopy formed about our zenith. I must not omit to observe here that, on several occasions, when the light thus intervened between the earth and the cloud, brilliant meteors were precipitated obliquely toward the south and south-west horizons.

This supposition of the light being at no great elevation is strengthened by the different appearances exhibited by the

Aurora was seen ~~at~~ times to observers not more than from ten to thirty miles off shore, and also by its being visible to persons on board the ship at Chamisso Island, after it had vanished in Escholtz Bay, only ten miles distant, as well as by the Aurora being seen by the barge detached from the Blossom several days before it was visible to persons on board the ship, about two hundred miles to the southward of her.

Captain Franklin has mentioned a similar circumstance in his notices on the Aurora Borealis in his first expedition, when Dr. Richardson and Mr. Kendall were watching for the appearance of the meteor by agreement, and when it was seen by the former actively sweeping across the heavens and exhibiting prismatic colours, without any appearance of the kind being witnessed by the latter, then only twenty miles distant from his companion. Captain Parry also, in his Third Voyage, describes the Aurora as being seen even between the hills and the ship anchored at Port Bowen.

Dr. Halley and other philosophers have supposed that the coruscations of the Aurora proceeded always in radii perpendicular to the surface of the earth, in the direction of the magnetic meridian from the poles towards the equator, and the former has ingeniously accounted for the apparent deviations occasionally witnessed on the principles of perspective; but this explanation is not quite satisfactory, as Captains Parry, Franklin, and ourselves, in Kotzebue Sound, have seen these rays emanate from almost all parts of the horizon, and actually pass the zenith. At the same time I am disposed to believe, from my own observation, that the radii in general take the perpendicular direction above alluded to, probably on account of the less resistance they meet in the higher regions of the atmosphere than in such as near the surface of the earth; and this will partly account for the appearance of the cone formed at the zenith of the ships at Melville Peninsula, described in Captain Parry's Second Voyage, page 146, and of another very similar, witnessed by ourselves in Kotzebue Sound on the 26th August, 1827, on which occasion the rays shot up from all directions, and formed over our zenith the perfect appearance of a tent stretched upon a number of poles united at

their ends; but even here the rays could not have been quite parallel unless their extremities were very close together.

In Kotzebue Sound the Aurora was seldom visible before ten o'clock at night, or after two o'clock in the morning. We never heard any noise, nor detected any disturbance of the magnetic needle: but here I must observe that Kater's compass was the only instrument employed for this purpose, and then on board the ship only, the exposed situation in which we were anchored not admitting of any establishment on shore, either for this purpose or for astronomical observations.

Mr. Collie, the surgeon of the Blossom, whose attention to meteorological phenomena was unwearied, has given an ingenious hypothesis on the subject of the Aurora. After expressing his opinion that this meteor occurs in the region of the thin and higher clouds of the earth's atmosphere, he observes, that "it is highly probably that the two strata of atmospheric fluid proceeding in opposite directions—the one from the equinoctial toward the polar regions, and the other in the reverse direction—are charged with opposite electricities, and that they are in different degrees of temperature and of humidity: the upper stratum, flowing from the equator toward the poles, being of a higher temperature and more charged with vapour than the lower, proceeding from the pole to the equator. They might thus be charged with opposite electricities, which would communicate and neutralize each other.

"The opposite temperatures would be reduced to their mean, and under certain circumstances these changes might be attended with the evolution of electrical light, and with the condensation of transparent vapour into thin clouds (stratus-cirrus, or cirro-stratus). As the watery particles of these clouds form, a certain degree of electric conductivity would be established, by which this subtle fluid might be propagated to short distances; but the greater dryness of the air, both above and below this region of thin mist, would oppose an unconducting barrier to its escape. As soon as one thin cloud, a thin stripe of cirrus, or fleecy portion of cirro-stratus or cirro-cumulus, became charged with electricity, it would occasion,

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By the laws of electric phenomena, an opposite electrical state in that portion near stars, and these opposite electricities would instantly attract each other, fly together, burst forth in fire, and become neutralized. If there should be a plane in which such thin clouds are formed, the subversion and re-establishment of the balance of electricity being thus begun would be rapidly propagated throughout the whole of this space, and produce that rapid, undulatory motion which we observe in the Aurora Borealis."

In considering the subject of the Aurora Borealis, my attention was drawn to a fact which does not appear to me to have been hitherto noticed. I allude to the direction in which the Aurora generally makes its first appearance, or, which is the same thing, the quarter in which the arch formed by this meteor is usually seen. It is remarkable, that in this country the Aurora has always been seen to the northward; by the expeditions which have wintered in the ice it was almost always seen to the southward; and by the Blossom, in Kotzebue Sound, 250 miles to the southward of the ice, it was, as in England, always observed in a northern direction. Coupling this with the relative positions of the margins of the packed ice, and with the fact of the Aurora appearing more brilliantly to vessels passing near the situation of that body, than by others entered far within it, as would seem to be the case from the reports of the Greenland ships, and from my observations at Melville Island and at Kotzebue Sound, it does appear, at first sight, that that region is most favourable to the production of the meteor. I do not, however, presume to offer any hypothesis on the subject; but having witnessed the extraordinary change that takes place in the atmosphere, along the whole line of ice covering the Polar Sea, I should be remiss if I omitted to direct the attention of the natural philosopher to the circumstance. There is perhaps no part of the globe where the atmosphere undergoes a greater or more sudden change than over this line of the ice. A diminution of 10 or 15 degrees of temperature constantly occurs within the space of a few miles: the humid atmosphere over the ocean may sometimes be seen laden with heavy clouds, which disperse as

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they arrive at this line of reduced temperature, and leave the region over the ice exposed to a bright sunshine. Indeed the extraordinary effect of this large body of ice upon the atmosphere, particularly when the sea is deep and the temperature of the ocean and its superstratum of air high, as between Spitzbergen and Greenland, will scarcely be credited by persons who have not witnessed it. Mr. Scoresby has given some extraordinary instances of this in his Arctic Voyages; and to these I will add one of many which fell under my own observation. The ships of the first polar expedition were beset in the ice about nine miles from the open sea. It was blowing a hard gale upon the ice, and we could perceive a ship carrying off under storm stay-sails only. There was nothing between us and the ship to intercept the gale, and yet we were becalmed during the whole of the day. The atmosphere over the open sea was loaded with clouds (*nimbi*), while that over the ice enjoyed a bright sunshine throughout. The limits of these opposite states of the atmosphere, by seamen called the *ice-blink*, were marked by a well-defined line, nearly perpendicular over the margin of the ice. As the heavy clouds reached this spot they were gradually condensed, the effect of which was precisely similar to that which sometimes occurs about the summits of high mountains, against which the clouds are successively driven, without any being seen to depart, and without any apparent increase.

This remarkable disturbance of the equilibrium of the atmosphere being admitted, I would here merely suggest whether, under certain dispositions of the atmosphere, electricity might not be induced and communicated to the surrounding region, so as to occasion the Aurora Borealis, and to account for its appearance in the before-mentioned directions in preference to others.

I am not aware what would be the effect of the meeting of two atmospheres, one influenced by a large body of ice, the other by an extensive continent, such as that of America, and particularly when the circumstances might be modified by frozen lakes. But it appears from Captain Franklin's observations at Great Bear Lake, that the Aurora arose in the

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quarters and more frequently illuminated
earth than the others appear to have done either of those
before-mentioned places.

His observations were not limited to justify any remark on
observation of Captain Franklin, that the appearance of
aurora occurs more frequently in the last quarters of the
than in others.

THE END.

